1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[21]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[22]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zod.

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PLATE 34

AZTEC ART

TOP: Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods, a highly important member of the pantheon. This representation, over eight feet high, displays her power in terms of such fearsome attributes as two snakeheads, a necklace of a skull, hands and hearts, a skirt of writhing snakes and claws on her feet. The bottom of the statue's feet is carved to represent the earth monster. BOTTOM: Wooden drum with two tongues (*teponaztli*) in the form of an ocelot. The smooth, simple outlines contrast with the macabre congestion of the presentation above.

[p. 160(F)]

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PLATE 55
AZTEC ART

TOP: Another presentation of Coatlicue, the Mother of the Gods. An earth goddess, she is also associated with death, so that in this case her head is a human skull. BOTTOM: *Left:* Small rock-crystal skull representing the Death God. This is a fine example of Aztec lapidary work. *Right:* A box, symbolically carved, to hold human hearts. Note the glyph for jade, i.e., "precious," banding the sides of the container.

[p. 160(G)]

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PLATE 56

AZTEC ART

TOP: This Corn Goddess is envisaged as a young girl. Her soft Indian beauty is brought out with the same sure simplicity which characterizes the warriors on Plates 40 and 49. BOTTOM: A colossal head, nearly four feet high, of Coyolxauhqui, sister of the War God. She is shown dead. Simple handling of details enhances this monumental conception.

[p. 160(H)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 attribute similar attitudes to their gods, and, as a result, the
532 soft emotionalism so characteristic of European art is almost totally absent. Thus Aztec sculpture is even more forbidding and gloomy than other Middle American arts, which have at first a depressing effect on observers accustomed to Old World aesthetics.[9] (See Plates 40, 49, 52–56.)

532 The same sense of proportion so evident in Aztec architecture produced a monumental quality in their sculpture. The smallest piece has the same dignity that attends the most massive temple carvings. A photograph reveals no impression of the original scale, and in one case the head of a goddess was carved identically in a small piece of jade and a four-foot block of basalt, with no loss of plastic or monumental values to either.[10]

In relief sculpture the forming of the object and the disposition and subordination of details show the mastery of design inherited by eyes trained in centuries of weaving. The vast block of the thirteen-foot Calendar Stone is carved with as delicate an appreciation of the relative values of space as similar designs painted on pottery vessels or graven on jade. (See Plate 52.)

532 The finest Aztec sculpture, to the Western eye, repro-
● 778 duces the young gods and goddesses that presided over the crops. Thus the Aztec body, long of trunk, short of limb, softly rounded in its well-fleshed strength, is simply and accurately portrayed with passive grace. The patient and resigned features were perfect subjects for the sculptor and his medium. Some gods could assume the guise of animals, and the sculptors took full advantage of their close observation of nature to carve a coyote with ear atilt or to dignify a red basalt grasshopper with the armored malevolence of an insect

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

in heroic scale. The serpent, emblem of Quetzalcoatl, symbol of time and the year, representative of mystery and power, was frequently carved. The sinuous curves ending in the savage symmetry of the head offered a challenge which the sculptors accepted with a success that evokes the mysterious horror of the Aztec universe. (See Plates 53, 56.)

The grotesque gods are abstract and horrible to our modern eye. Coatlicue,* the "Lady of the Serpent Skirt" and mother of Huitzilopochtli, was thought of as powerful and awesome, so the task of the sculptors was to transmute those qualities into stone. The great statue in Mexico, whose head is twin serpents, whose necklace human hands and hearts, whose feet and hands are viciously armed with claws and whose skirt is a mat of writhing snakes, brings into a dynamic concentrate the manifold horrors of the universe. A smaller carving, simpler and less detailed, produces this same effect, implying that the very essence of fear was honored and worshiped. An altar of red lava, dug up in the street behind the cathedral, is grimly adorned with ranked skulls, but the design is so harmonious that death becomes an abstraction, part of a distant universe of fear, and not the imminent individual disaster which besets us moderns. (See Plates 54–55.)

The Calendar Stone embodies a finite statement of the infinity of the Aztec universe. In the center is the face of the Sun God, Tonatiuh, flanked by four cartouches which singly give the dates of the four previous ages of the world and together represent the date of our present era. The twenty names of the days circle this central element, and they, in turn, are ringed with a band of glyphs denoting jade or turquoise, which give the idea of being precious and sym-

*Co-at-le'e-kway.

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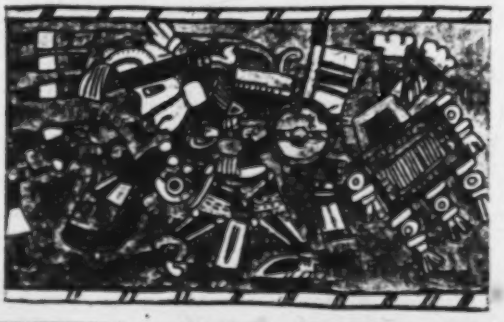

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PLATE 57

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Tezcatlipoca, Smoking Mirror, from fresco at Tizatlan. BOTTOM: *Left:* The Codex Florentino plan of Tenochtitlan (cf. Plate 37). A. The shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. B. Priest. C. Priests' quarters. D. Temple platform. E. Eagle warrior's quarters. F. Ball court. G. Skull rack. H. Temple of Xipe. I. Sacrificial stone. K. Old temple of Huitzilopochtli. L. Five Lizard (date) and Macuilxochitl, God of Flowers. M. Five House (date) and same god. N. Dancing places. Q. Image of Xipe. P. Doors into sacred enclosure. *Right:* Gold ornament representing the vertical universe; at top gods play ball, symbolizing the sky and the movement of the planets, next the sun disk, then a flint knife, representing the moon, and finally the earth monster.

[p. 176(A)]

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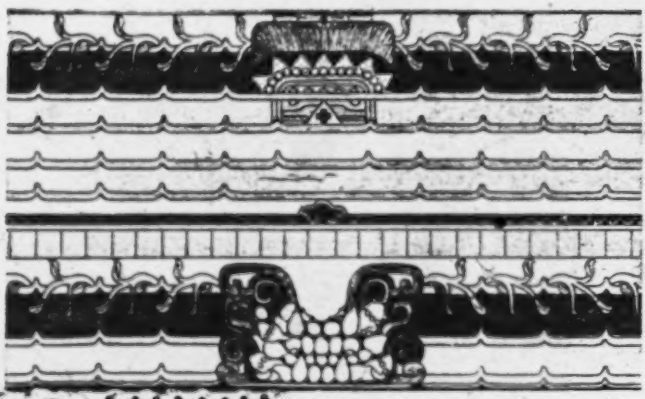

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PLATE 58

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: Altar at Teotihuacan with symbols of agricultural worship. Note glyph at top center. MIDDLE: Codex Florentino, special ceremony involving gods' descent to earth, with birdmen, snake dancers, rain-gods and priests dressed as the chief gods of the pantheon. BOTTOM: Vienna Codex, scene partly ceremonial and partly historical. Gods, dates, temples, chiefs and fire making are shown.

[p. 176 (B)]

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776 to have been worshiped more extensively, and the clay images made in their honor also continued in unbroken line the tradition of the Middle Culture figurines. Coatlicue (Our Lady of the Serpent Skirt) was the mother of the gods in their stellar aspect but also was honored as the mother of Huitzilopochtli. The measure of her importance may be gauged by
● [778] the great statue of her in Mexico which is a masterpiece of sacerdotal art and undoubtedly had a temple to itself. Coatlicue was also represented as a mother carrying a child in her arms. In this guise her function as a mother goddess brought her image into almost every home in the valley. Tonantzin (Our Mother), which may have been an aspect of this same goddess or of Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), had a temple at Tepeyac, now the site of the shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and her cult was transferred to the Virgin by the early missionaries, an act exemplifying their intelligent procedure in evangelizing the Aztecs. A goddess, Tlazolteotl (Eater of Filth), was extensively worshiped and was also synonymously known as the "Mother of the Gods." Primarily an earth-goddess, she, alone of the goddesses, had a moral significance, since in eating refuse she consumed the
[783] sins of mankind, leaving them pure. A rite of confession developed in her cult. (See Plates 54–55.)

Standing out from the numerous divinities associated with death were Mictlantecuhtli and Mictlancihuatl,* (Our Lord and Lady of the Region of Death). They wore masks made from human skulls, and their ornaments were either human bones or representations of them. They presided over the northern regions and also ruled the hells below the earth. Theirs was no punitive function, for all who died, save in

*Meek-tlan-se'e-watl.

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completely dominated the place. At regular intervals terraces broke the lines of the sloping sides and increased the impression of its size. A wide staircase of one hundred and fourteen narrow steps led up the western side, and so steep was this stair that not until one's head rose clear of the platform did the temple itself come into view.

The temple, in reality, comprised two shrines, built side by side, each having stone walls and soaring roofs of wood coated with plaster. Through the right-hand door one could clearly see the squat figure of Huitzilopochtli carved from the stone and covered with a paste in which were set jade, turquoise, gold and seed pearls. A girdle of gold snakes, picked out in precious stones, adorned his waist, and around his neck hung a string of gold masks covered with turquoise mosaic. By his side stood the statue of an attendant deity, equipped with a short lance and a gold shield, richly decorated with the customary mosaic.

In the adjoining shrine stood an image of Tezcatlipoca, one of the most prominent Aztec gods. His eye sockets were inlaid with mirrors of obsidian, the black depths of which reflected the red gleams of the afternoon light. This statue, too, was adorned with gold and precious stones. High in the wooden roof of this temple perched a small figure of Xipe, the God of Seedtime. Braziers of incense discharged greasy coils of smoke which deepened the gloom of the temples, whose walls were already black with the blood of many victims. In dim corners stood heaps of ritualistic paraphernalia, conch-shell trumpets, knives, banners and baskets of shapeless lumps of meat, surplus human hearts which, for some reason, had not yet been placed upon the braziers. The priests who glided through this murk seemed fitting satellites to the

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174 346 778 diabolic images to which they ministered. In front of the temples stood the great drum which was soon to throb across the lake as a nation suffered its death agony.

000 It was from this point that Montezuma showed Cortes his empire, and Bernal Diaz, who witnessed the scene, left us this unforgettable description:

"Then Montezuma took Cortes by the hand and told him to look at his great city and all the other cities that were standing in the water and the many other towns and the land around the lake. . . . So we stood looking about us, for that huge and cursed temple stood so high that from it one could see over everything very well, and we saw the three causeways which led into Mexico . . . and we saw the [aqueduct of] fresh water that comes from Chapultepec, which supplies the city, and we saw the bridges on the three causeways which were built at certain distances apart . . . and we beheld on the lake a great multitude of canoes, some coming with supplies of food, others returning loaded with cargoes of merchandise, and we saw that from every house of that great city and of all the other cities that were built in the water it was impossible to pass from house to house except by drawbridges, which were made of wood, or in canoes; and we saw in those cities Cues [temples] and oratories like towers and fortresses and all gleaming white, and it was a wonderful thing to behold!"[3]

776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling,
796 howling, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

[776] And one man carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. His was the humming-bird disguise. He had the breast-mirror; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Auh in macoxalti, quitocaia, quitlalochtocaia, coiohuitiuja, quicaocaxtiuja, teuhtli quiquetztiuja, tlalli quipopotztiuja: iuhquin tlaixquejquica, tlalli tetocujca:

auh ce tlacatl quipapalotiuja.

Auh ynjc mochichioaia, tezcaomeztiuja, quetzalapanecaiutl, in cuetlalitiuja, inacalichicoale, incitlalichioale, mixcitlalichioh, nixhiocanjoa, vitztililoacala, elhuacaoa, xiuhchimale.

776 [796] **Third Chapter,** which telleth of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whose abode was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, afflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Jnic ey, capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn jtoca tezcatlipoca: in quimonnotiaia, yoan in quitlamanjliaia, ie uecuh.

Tezcatlipoca: ynin vel teutl ipan machoia, noujian ynemjian: mictla, tlalticpac, yllujcac. Jn jquac nemja tlalticpac, ixhuatl quijoliniaja, in teuhtli tlaçolli: cococ tzopoluhqui, cujteititiaia,

tetzalli, tzoncantla motecaia: ipampa y, mjtoaia necoc iauti, muchi quijnocoiaia, quitemoujaja, quitencaujltiaia, quitecujtiaia yn jxquich aqualli tepan muchioaia: teca manjltiaia, tequequeloaia.

Auh in quenman, quitemacaia, in necujltonolli: in tlatquitl, in oquichiuel, in tiacauhtzi, in tecuiotl, in tlatocaiutl, in pilloti, in mauiçoti.

Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the priest.[13]

Tlaloc the priest. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunder-bolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also rattles. He had a plaited-reed banner.[16]

Jnjc nauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoaia yn teutl, yn jtoca tlaloc, tlamacazqui.

Tlaloc, tlamacazqui: ynjn ipan machoia, in quijauitl: ca ixhuatl quiiocoaia, quitemoujaia, quipixoaia, in quijauitl, yoan in tecuitl: quiocelaltiaja, quitemolinaltiaja, quixonuvialtiaja, quicuepoualtiaja, quincaltiaia in quauitl, in çacatl, in tonacaiotl. Yoan no inch tlamjloia, in teilaquilistli, in tlauiteçuilistli.

Auh ynjc mochichioaia, tlaixtlilpopotzalli, tlaixelhuilli, metlilloçac, izmjchioave, izmichioxuhio, zuachxicole, xiauhxicole, axtaxoma, chalchiuhconque, poçolcaque, no tzitzile, aztapilpane.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jnic macuJlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa yn teutl, yn jtoca quetzalcoatl.

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11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Sahagun (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 44) declares it as a costly robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the xicolli (jacket) and the tzitzcapaltontli (tops worn over the jacket); probably it was an apron-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Sahagun (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that *tlamacazqui* and *tlamacazqua* mean "priest" and "priest." He himself translates *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "*Regengott . . . Regenpriester*," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cuentos Sahagunes, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*): "*im Gesicht eine Bepinselung mit flüssigem Kautschuk.*"

15. *Cf.* Sahagun, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 185; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 443-4.

16. *Cf.* Sahagun, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

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And when (there was) no wind, it was calm; the water spread like a mirror, gleaming, glittering.

And when her feast was celebrated, in the month of *Etzalqualiztli*, the eating of boiled corn,[47] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework: they put a skirt upon her, and a shift; they placed jewels upon her—a plaited neckpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

And they offered her offerings and the fire priests came out to receive her. They strewed aromatic herbs before her.

With the rattle board of the mist and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

And then they slew her impersonator—a slave woman, bought and set forth by those who gained their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[48]

Likewise they arrayed her, made offerings, and ornamented her. For she would go, when they slew her, to a place called Tlalocan. In the temple of the Tlaloca, they opened her breast.

Then Moctezuma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and slew quail.

Thus they said: "The chief gaineth rain; he doth a penance for his people." And giving thanks, they thus paid honor to the waters.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of man's sustenance, called Chicome coatl; and to the image of the salt [-goddess], named Uixtociuatl. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[49]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be satisfied; thus, in truth, might he live.

And thus was she decked: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[51] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] ear-plugs. She had a blue paper cap with a spray of quetzal feathers. Her shift and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flower. She carried the mist-rattleboard,[52] which she sounded. She wore foam sandals.

Auh yn jquac atle ehecatl, tlamattimanj, atezcattitimanj, 776
petlantimanj, cuecuxiocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujztiloia, çan no iquac yn ezalqua- 796
liztli: yn vncan ilhujqujztililoia tlaloque,

[805]

coloztli in quichichioaia yxiptla: qujcuetziaia, qujujpiltiaia, [778]
qujcuecuexiaia, cuecaperlatl, itech pilcatiuh cuetic teucujtla-
conalli:

yoan qujtlamanjliaia, qujnanamiquj yn jtlenamacacauh,
yiauhtli, ixpan qujnepevilia,

caiochicaoaz ilhujtinemj, qujcujcatia in calpoleque,
ycujcacaoan.

Auh in vel ixiptla, yquac mjquja: tlacotli cioatl in [567]
qujcoxia, ixhuan qujnextiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc
motlaiecultia, yn acaltica atlacuj, yn acaleque, yn apanalaca: [463]
yoan acalquetzque tlanquixco, in quitechixtia atl.

No iuh quichichioaia, no iuh quitlamamacaia, no iuh quicencaoaia: iuh tlantiuja: in miquja, yeicaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan intzupan, tlaloque, quelitzequja.

In jquac y, no cenca quimauixtiliaia, yn motecuçoma: ixpan tlenamacaia, yn jxiptla, quitlacotenjlia,

iuh quitoaia: qujiauhtlatlanj in tlacatl, quitlamacehuja yn jmaceual: yoan vncan mocnelilmati, ynjc quimahujztiliaia atl:

qujlnamjquja, ca ic tinemj, ca tonenca: yoan ic muchioa, yn inquich tetech monequj.

No iuh quimauixtiliaia, yn jxiptla tonaciotl, yn jtoca, chicome coatl; yoã yn jxiptla ixtatl, ytoca Vixtociuatl: ic qujlnamjquja; yn je tlamanjxti:

ca vel yuonca muchioa in macoualli, ic vellamati, ic vel 776
nemj.

Auh yuja, in muchichioaia: mexaoaia, texotica, motenujltec, motezotenujltec, mixcoçalhuj, chalchiuhcuxque, xiuhxacoche, tezcamacale, quetzalmjiaoaio, atlacujlolhvipile, atlacujlolhuijpile, atlacujlolcuexio, atlacueçonanchimale, aiauhcaoaçe, cacalaca; poçulcaque.

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48. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "*este estaua hecho de masa cozida, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239): "*el maiz cozido por el solo llamauan pozolli para a causa de reuolverlo con frijol (así) le llaman otzolli.*"

49. Corresponding Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* reads: ". . . *la festejaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienē sus granjerias, en el agua: como son los que venden agua, en las canoas: y los que venden agua, en tinajas, en la plaça. . . .*"

50. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *porque dezian, que estas tres diosas: mantenjan, a la gente popular: para que pudiessen, viuir, y mantenerse.*"

51. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . *la pintauan, la cara, con color amarilla. . . .*"

52. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Traia en la mano, derecha, vn vaso, con vna cruz: hecha a manera, de la custodia, en que se llama el sacramento, quando vno sale la llamar y era como cetro, dezia diosa.*" See p. 5, note 44. See also illustrations of Chalchiuhtli yoan and Tzapotlan tenan.

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And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and stoppers for jars.

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and went among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[104] [that they might] mimic the natives.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[105] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had contentment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

It was called "the washing of the feet."[106] They paid great honor to the cane, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

In the tribal temple[107] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

And when they ceremonially bathed and slew a man as a sacrifice,[108] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicnquiauitl, or Chalmecaciuatl, Acxomocuil, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[109] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

They bought them there at the slave market at Atzcaputzalco; they sorted and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They save them up [like

Auh in tecomatl, in pocteomatl, in aiutectli, in aquauitl, yn aztaccaiutl:

intlanel iautitlan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, tetlan onnemj, vel calaquj, motlacacuepa in nechichioalitica, in nexintica, in tlatoltica quintlachecalhuja in chaneque.

Auh intla otlanecoualtique, intla oittoque: vncan quipopoiomictia, quinchillatilia: ça ica, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nẽ tematitlanpa quiça, iehoatl quicalnonotzaia in motecuçuma:

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, yapoçonaltentzuh, yc quimaviztiotia, ic quinercaiotia, in tlacauh, vncan ic oquichtia.

Auh yn iquac oalacia, ynchan: vn jmiloch, ynnecuepal oquichiuhque, yn otlaltechacico, yn otlaltechpachiuhque: izquich tlacatl quinotza, in puchteca: yoan in tlatoque, ic motzintitiaia:

mjtoa, mocxipaca, cenca quimavizzilia yn itopil, yn jtlacçaia yiacatecutli:

cana in calpulco quiquettaia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yoan intlaca nel motecoanotza, quitlamanjlia in çan muchipa yn jtlaquaia.

Auh intla aca tealtiz, iehoatl caltiaia, quizcoaia in jteouh yiacatecutli: anoço ceme iehoantin yn mocheoaia, in quinmotzutiaia in chiconquiaujtl, anoço chalmecaciuatl, yoan acxomocuijl, yoan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzaoac, aiac quijiocuja, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

vmpa concouaia yn tlacanecujloca azcaputtzalco: motlahtatilia, motlapapatilia, quincuecuepa, quimjhitta, yn qualtin quincoazque, yn acan quenamjque, in tlacaiecti, in tlacamelaoaque, yn acan cucuzque, yn atle intlaciuh ca:

ynjc iehoan quinmictizque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhujquiztililoia vitzilubuchtli:

yquac quinchichioaia, quintlamamaca, intech quitlalia yn juhquj ynechichioal yiacatecutli.

Auh yn iiamo quinmjctia, achcopa quintzintitiaia: mjtoa quimjanextia, ic quitemachitia in tealtizque:

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[778]

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104. *Cf.* Tezquimoado (*op. cit.*, p. 57): Yaxcuihuiqui *"prepáranse representa persona, que tiene viveza, ó habilidad, para mejor graciosamente, ó engañar, y si sabio, y sagáz (que es propia condicion de Mercaderes) . . . ."*

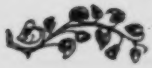
105. *Cf.* Sahr (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 22) citing *Hist. Reyn. Colh. Mex.* B. II §83.

106. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonia que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

107. Sahagún defines *calpulli* as *"yglesia del barrio, ó parrochia"* (Spanish version).

108. Sahagún defines the substantive in this manner: *"Estos dueños que matauan a estos esclauos."—Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

109. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahr (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cachimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicnquiauitl or Chalmecaciuatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocuil is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.



The fourth month they called Uei toçoztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god named Cinteotl, whom they regarded as god of maize. In his honor they fasted four days before the arrival of the feast.

Al quarto mes llamauan, Vey toçoztli: en el primero dia deste mes: haziã fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Cinteutl, que le tenjan por dios de los mahizes: a honrra deste, ayunauan quatro dias, ante de llegar la fiesta.

[96 305 776 785]

Chapter 4
Uei toçoztli

In this feast they placed reeds at the doors of the houses. They sprinkled them with the blood from their ears or from the calves of their legs. Besides these, the nobles and the rich set up in their houses some branches which they called *acxoyatl*. Likewise, they set up branches for their gods, and set forth flowers for [the gods] which each one had in his house.

After this, they went about the maize fields and brought stalks of the maize (which was still small), and they garnished them with flowers and went to place them before their gods, in the house called *calpulli;* and also they set food before them.

Having done this in the various suburbs, they went to the pyramid of the goddess whom they called Chicome coatl, and there, before her, they enacted skirmishes in the manner of battles. And all the girls bore upon their backs ears of maize [grown] the year before. They went in procession, to present them to the goddess Chicome coatl, and they returned them once more to their house[s] as blessed thing[s]; and from them they took the seed to plant next year. And also they put it [away] as the heart of the grain bins, because it was blessed.

They made of dough (which they call *tzoalli*) the image of this goddess in the courtyard of her pyramid; and before her they offered all kinds of maize, and all kinds of beans, and all kinds of *chia*. For they said that she was the maker and giver of all those things which are the necessaries of life, that the people may live.

1. Marginal notation: *Sanctorum nomina et hoc festum.*

Cap. 4.
Vey toçoztli

Cap. 4. Vey toçoztli

En esta fiesta, ponjan espadañas a las puertas de las casas ensangrentauanlas, con sangre de las orejas, o de las espinjllas: los nobles y los ricos, de mas de las espadañas, enrramauan sus casas, con vnos ramos, que llaman acxoatl. Tambien enrramauan a sus dioses, y las ponjan flores a los que cada vno tenja en su casa.

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Despues desto, yuan por los mahizales, y trayan cañas de mahiz (que aun estaua pequeño) y componjanlas con flores y yuanlas a poner delante de sus dioses, a la casa que llamauan calpulli: y tambien ponjan comjda delante dellos.

Despues de echo esto, en los barrios: yuan al cu, de la diosa, que llamauan chicome coatl: y alli delante della hazian escaramuças a manera de pelea: y todas las muchachas lleuauan a cuestas, maçorcas de mahiz del año pasado: yuan en procesion, a presẽtarlas, a las diosa chicome coatl: y tornauanlas otra vez a su casa como cosa bendita, y de alli tomauan la semjlla, para sembrar el año venjdero: y tambien ponjanlo por coraçon, de las troxes, por estar bendito.

[776]

[241]

Hazian de masa (que llaman tzoalli) la ymagen desta diosa, en el patio de su cu, y delante della: ofrecian todo genero de mahiz, y todo genero de frisoles, y todo genero de chien: porque dezian, que ella era la autora, y dadora de aquellas cosas, que son mantenjmjentos, para biujr la gente.

[778]

X 796 [805 776] **The ninth month** they called Tlaxochimaco. On the first day of this month they held a feast in honor of the god of war, named Uitzilopochtli. In this they offered him the first flowers [grown] in that year.

Chapter 9
Tlaxochimaco

[231 262] On the night before this feast, all busied themselves in killing fowls and dogs, in order to eat them, and in making *tamales* and other things concerned with food. Then, very early in the morning of this feast, the priests of the idols decked Uitzilopochtli ● [778] with many flowers; and after the statue of this god was adorned, they decorated the statues of the other gods with garlands and strings and wreaths of flowers. And then they decked all the other statues in the tribal temples and young men's houses. And in the houses of the majordomos and leading men and common folk, all decorated with flowers the statues which they had in their houses.

X 796 535 Having decorated the statues of all the gods, they then began to eat that fare which they had prepared the night before; and, a little after eating, they started a kind of dance in which the noblemen, with women, together danced grasping each other's hands, and the ones embracing the others, arms thrown about each other's necks. They did not dance solemnly in the manner of a ceremonial dance, nor did they go through the movements of a ceremonial dance; but they went step by step, to the rhythm of those who [534 778] beat [the drums] and sang, all of whom were standing, a little to one side of those who danced, near a circular altar which they called *momoztli*.

This chanting lasted until nightfall. Not only in the pyramid courtyards but in all the houses of the leading men and the common folk they beat [the drums] and sang with a great din until night. And [273] the old men and the old women drank wine; but no young man nor young woman drank it. And if [any] of them did drink it, they punished them sorely. Many other ceremonies were performed in this, which are [described] at length. Etc.

Al nono mes llamauan Tlaxochimaco: El primero dia deste mes hazian fiesta a honrra del dios de la guerra llamado Vitzilobuchtli: offrecianle en ella las primeras flores de aquel año.

Cap. 9
Tlaxochimaco

1	d	KL.	Tlaxochimaco	d	12
2	e	La noche antes desta fiesta ocupa-		e	13
3	f	uanse todos en matar gallinas y perros		f	14
4	g	para comer, en hazer tamales y otras		g	15
5	A	cosas concernjentes a la comjda: luego		A	16
6	b	de mañanjta el dia desta fiesta: los		b	17
7	c	satrapas de los ydolos, componjã cõ		c	18
8	d	muchas flores a Vitzilobochtli, y des-		d	19
9	e	pues de compuesta la estatua deste		e	20
10	f	dios: componjan las estatuas de los		f	21
11	g	otros dioses con guirnaldas y sartales		g	22
12	A	y collares de flores: y luego cõponjan		A	23
13	b	todas las otras estatuas de los calpules,		b	24
14	c	y telpuchcales: y en las casas de los cal-		c	25
15	d	pisques y principales y maceguales,		d	26
16	e	todos componjan las estatuas que ten-		e	27
17	f	jan en sus casas con flores.		f	28
18	g	Compuestas las estatuas todos los		g	29
19	A	dioses: luego començauan a comer		A	30
20	b	aquellas viandas que tenjan aparejadas		b	31

de la noche pasada, y dende a vn poco despues de comer: començauan vna manera de bayle o dança: en la qual los hombres nobles con mugeres juntamente baylauan asidos de las manos y abraçados los vnos con los otros: echados los braços sobre el cuello el vno del otro: no dançauan a manera de areyte, nj hazian los meneos como en el areyte, sino yvan paso a paso: al son de los que tanjan y cantauan los quales estauan todos en pie, apartados vn poco de los que baylauan, cerca de vn altar redondo que llaman momuztli—

Durava este cantar hasta la noche: no solo en los patios de los cues: pero en todas las casas de principales y maceguales, tañjã y cantauan con gran bozeria hasta la noche: y los viejos y viejas beujan el vctli: pero njngun mancebo nj moça lo beuja: y si alguno lo beuja castigauanlos rezjamente. Otras muchas cerimonjas se hazian en esta: que esta a la larga. Etc.

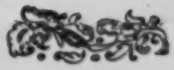
[796] pains of] their death. They tied them hand and foot, and, thus bound, they slung them over their shoulders, and walked with them as if performing a dance about the edge of a great fire and tall mound of live coals. Thus proceeding, they went casting them upon the mound of coals—now one, and, after a little, another. And him whom they had cast they let burn for a good while; and, still alive and tossing, they took him forth, dragging him out with something like a hook, and cast him upon the sacrificial stone. And, having opened his breast, they tore out his heart. In this manner suffered all those unhappy captives.

[413]

[778] The tree was made fast by many ropes from the top, as the rigging of a ship hangeth from the topsail. On the top of this stood upright the statue of that god, made of a dough which they call *tzoalli*. When the aforesaid sacrifice had been offered, all the young men assailed [the statue] with great vigor. Many other ceremonies were enacted, as hath been written at length below, in this feast.

los pies y las manos, y assi atados ponialos sobre los hombros, y andaua con ellos como haziẽdo arreyto en rrededor de vn grã fuego y grã mõton de brasa, ansi andando yualos arrojando sobre el monton de brasas: agora vno y desde a vn poco otro: y el que avian arrojado, dexauanle quemar vn buen interualo, y avn quando biuo y barqueando sacauanle fuera arrastrando con qual que garauato, y echauãle sobre el tzuõ: y abierto el pecho sacauanle el coraçon: desta manera padecian todos aquellos tristes catiuos,

Estaua el arbol atado con muchas sogas de lo alto, como la jarcia de la nao: esta pendiente de la gabia en lo alto del, estaua en pie la ymagen de aquel dios: hecha de masa que llaman tzoalli: acabado el sacrificio ya dicho, arremetian con gran impetu todos los mancebos. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian segun a la larga esta escripto adelante en esta fiesta.



The thirteenth month they named Tepeilhuitl. In this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the high mountains, which are in all these lands of this New Spain, where large clouds pile up. They made the images of each one of them in human form, from the dough which is called *tzoalli*, and they laid offerings before these images in veneration of these same mountains.

Chapter 13
Tepeilhuitl

In honor of the mountains they made a number of serpents, of wood or of the roots of trees, and they fashioned them heads like [those of] serpents. They made also some lengths of wood, as thick as the wrist, and long. They called them *ecatotonti*. These, as well as the serpents, they overlaid with that dough which they call *tzoalli*. These pieces they provided a covering in the manner of mountains. Above, they placed the head, like the head of a person. Likewise they made these images in memory of those who had drowned in the water, or had died such a death that they did not burn them, but rather buried them.

After, with many ceremonies, they had placed upon their altars the aforementioned images, they also offered them *tamales* and other food; and also they uttered canticles of their praises, and they drank wine in their honor.

Upon arrival of the feast in honor of the mountains, they slew four women and one man. The first of these [women] they called Tepexoch. The second they called Matlalcueie. The third they named Xochtecatl. The fourth they called Mayauel. And the man they named Milnauatl. They decked these women and the man in many papers covered with rubber. And they carried them in some litters upon the shoulders of women highly adorned, to the place where they were to slay them.

1. Margined notations: October in this text.

Al tercio decimo mes llamauan Tepeilhujtl: En este mes hazian fiesta a honrra de los montes eminentes, que estan por todas estas comarcas desta nueua españa: donde se armã fiublados: hazian las ymagenes en figura humana a cada vno dellos de la masa que se llama tzoal, y ofrecian delante destas ymagenes, en respecto destos mismos montes.

Cap. 13.
Tepeilhujtl.

Hazian a honrra de los montes: vnas culebras de palo o de rayzes de arboles, y labrauanles la cabeça como culebra: haziã tãbien vnos troços de palo grueso como la muñeca largos llamauanlos Ecatotonti: assi a estos como a las culebras los investian cõ aquella masa que llamã tzoal: a estos troços los investian a manera de montes, arriba les ponjan su cabeça como cabeça de persona: hazian tambien estas ymagenes en memoria de aquellos que se aujan ahogado en el agua o avian muerto de tal muerte que no los quemauan, sino que los enterrauan.

Despues que cõ muchas cerimonjas, aujan puesto en sus altares a las ymagenes dichas: ofrecianles tambien tamales y otras comjdas: y tambien los dezian cantares de sus loores, y beujan vino por su honrra.

Llegada la fiesta a honrra de los montes, matauan quatro mugeres y vn hombre: la vna dellas llamauã tepexoch: la segũda llamauã Matlalcueie: la tercera llamauan Sochtecatl: la quarta llamauã Mayauel, y al hombre llamauã Milnacatl: adereçauan a estas mugeres y al hombre cõ muchos papeles llenos de vlli: y lleuauanlas en vnas literas en hombros de mugeres muy staujadas, hasta donde las aujã de matar.

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They drew many draws in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with cords [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two tamales. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlaxcaltecans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they assembled and hunted, each one what he could.

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1. Illegible notation. Remainder illegible.

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Mixcoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que exprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas ymagenes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan polcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: ponjan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas ceremonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yuan todos los Mexicanos y Tlaxcaltecanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos animales, ciervos, conejos, y otros animales y poco a poco se yuan juntando hasta acorrallarlos todos: entonce arremetian y cazauan cada a qual lo que podia.

The eleventh month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlaloc began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al onzeno mes llamauan Atemoztli: En este mes hazian fiesta a los Dioses de la pluuja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començauа a tronar y hazer demonstraçes de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjencias y sacrificios porque viniese el agua.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlaloc, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] these gods of the rain. And on the eleventh day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *zoualli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *ixtetli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopastli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ceremonies with which

1. Marginal variation: Atemoztli mesen.
2. Marginal variation: Respuesta [illegible] titulo V.

Cap. 16.
Atemoztli.

Quando començauа a tronar: los sатrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas a estos dioses del agua. Y a los dezinueue dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjitencia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos baroles de alto abaxo hasta arriba: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los dientes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman ixcotli: y luego los offrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de auerlos velado y tañido y cantado: abrianles por los pechos, con vn tzotzopastli: que es instrumento con que texen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauanles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre sí,

2. Marginal variation: Remedio de dios agua.

The eighteenth month they named Izcalli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the god of fire, whom they called Xiuhtecutli, or Itzcoçauhqui. They made an image in his honor, with great artifice, which appeared to throw off flames of its own accord. And every four years, in this same feast, they slew slaves and captives in honor of this god. And they pierced the ears of all the children who had been born in those years, and they gave them godfathers and godmothers.

Al mes decimo octauo llamauan Izcalli: en este mes 796X
hazian fiesta al dios del fuego que llamauan Xiuhte-
cutli, o Jxcoçauhquj: hazian vna ymagen a su hõra [805
de grã artificio que parecia que echaua llamas de [778
fuego de sí: y de quatro en quatro años en esta misma
fiesta esclauos y captiuos matauan a honrra deste dios: 776
y agujerauan las orejas a todos los niños que aujan
nacido en aquellos años y dauanlos padrinos, y [852
madrinas. [304
608

Chapter 18
Izcalli

On the tenth day of this month they made a new fire at midnight, before the image of Xiuhtecutli, [which was] very curiously adorned. And, the fire having been lit, then, in the morning, the young men and boys came, and they brought various animals which they had hunted in the ten preceding days—some water [animals] and some land [animals]. And they offered them to the old men who were charged with safeguarding this god. And these cast into the fire all of those animals, so that they would cook. And they gave each one of these young men and boys a *tamal* made with amaranth, which they called *nenâquiltamalli*, which everyone in the city offered upon that day. All ate of these in honor of the feast day. They ate them very hot, and they drank and made merry.

On this feast, in ordinary years, they slew no one. But in the bissextile year, which was every four years, they slew, during this feast, captives and slaves and the impersonator of Xiuhtecutli, decorated in the manner which hath been told above, with many precious and curious adornments; they performed many great ceremonies upon the death of these [victims]—many more than on the other feasts already described. This is set forth at length in the account of this feast.

After they had slain these slaves and captives and the impersonator of Itzcoçauhqui, who is the god of fire, all the leading men and lords, the illustrious, and

Cap. 18.
Izcalli

A los diez dias deste mes: sacauã fuego nueuo a la media noche delante la ymagẽ de Xiuhtecutli muy curiosamẽte atauiada: y encendidos fuegos, luego en amaneciendo venjan los mancebos y muchachos, y trayã diuersos anjmales que aujan caçado en los diez dias passados vnos de agua, y otros de tierra: y offrecianlos a los viejos que tenjan cargo de guardar a este dios: y ellos echauã en el fuego a todos aquellos anjmales para que se asassen: y dauan a cada vno destos moços y muchachos vn tamal hecho de bledos que ellos llamauã Vauhquiltamalli: los quales todo el pueblo ofrecia aquel dia, y todos comjan dellos por honrra de la fiesta, comjanlos muy calientes y beujan y regozijauanse. [262]

En esta fiesta los años comunes no matauã a nadie: pero el año del bisiesto que era de quatro en quatro años: matauan en esta fiesta captiuos y esclauos, y la ymagen de Xiuhtecutli, compuesta de la manera que arriba se dixo cõ muchas y preciosas y curiosas ataujos: hazian grandes y muchas cerimonjas en la muerte destos, muchas mas que en las otras fiestas ya dichas. Esto esta puesto a la larga en la historia desta fiesta.

Despues que aujan muerto a estos esclauos y captiuos, y a la ymagen de Jacoçauhquj que es el dios del fuego: estauan aparejados y adereçados muy rica- [535]

In this house[1] which was like

a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcouatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcouatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors, for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Cioapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, on these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *cioatecocalli*, or by another name, *cioatetepan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amatetenuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcouatl: Este dia la adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el signo de quetzalcouatl. [796] [778]

La septima fiesta mouible.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjqujztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan su oratorios en sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gête, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziese mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso. [778]

La octaua fiesta mouible

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujauitl: en la primera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan Cioapipilti: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que moraua en la casa del sol, y que quãdo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas enfermedades, a los que topaua fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos calles: los quales llamauan cioatecocalli, o por otro nombre cioatetepan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amatetenuitl. En esta fiesta, dezian diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles. [784] [778] [776]

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujauitl: en la quarta casa que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy malafortunado, mataua en ella los malhechores, que estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de superticion: y los mercaderes, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viesen todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y benjan, to- [681] [777] [463]

[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

And afterwards, at night,

they ate and drank, and held flowers and those canes of perfume. And they sat in their seats. And each one began to boast of what he had gained, and of the distant parts which he had reached. And he belittled the others for their counting for little; [for] neither did they have as much as he, nor had they gone to distant places, as he had. In this the ones made a great mock of the others for a long space of the night.

mauan flores: y aquellas cañas de perfumes, y assentauanse en sus asientos: y començaua cada vno a jactarse, de lo que auja ganado, y de las partes remotas, donde auja llegado: y valdonaua a los otros de que eran para poco, nj tenjan tanto, como el, nj aujan ydo a partes remotas como el: en esto tenjan gran chacota, los vnos con los otros, por gran rato de la noche.

The Tenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they named ce malinalli, in the second house, named ome acatl, they celebrated a great festival; for they said that this was Tezcatlipoca's sign. In this feast they fashioned the image of Omacatl, and one who felt devotion took it to his house that it might bless him and cause his goods to increase. And when this took place, he kept it and preferred not to let it go. He who would let this image go, waited until the next time when the same sign reigned. Then he returned it whence he had taken it.

La decima fiesta mouible

En el signo que llamauan ce malinalli: en las segunda casa llamada vme acatl, hazian gran fiesta: porque dezian que esto sino era de Tezcatlibuca: en esta fiesta hazian la ymagen de Omacatl, y alguno que tenja deuocion, lleuauala a su casa: para que le bendixesse, y le hiziesse multiplicar su hazienda, y quando esto acontecja tenjala, y no la queria dexar: el que queria dexar esta ymagen esperaua, hasta que otra vez, reynasse el mismo signo: entonce la lleuaua adonde la auja tomado.

The Eleventh Movable Feast

In the sign called ce tecpatl, in the first house, they brought forth all the ornaments of Uitzilopochtli; they cleaned them and shook them out; and they put [them] in the sun. They said that this was his sign and that of Camaxtli. This they did at Tlacatecco. Here they set out, on this day, many kinds of food, very well cooked, like that which the lords eat. They presented all of them before his image. After they had remained there a while, the officials of Uitzilopochtli took them up and divided them among themselves, and ate them. And they also incensed the image and offered it quail. They struck off their heads before it, so the blood should be shed before the image. And the lord offered all the precious flowers which the lords used, before the image.

La onzena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce tecpatl. En la primera casa sacauan todos los ornamentos de Vitzilobuchtli, los linpiauan, y sacudian, y ponjan al sol: dezian que este era su signo, y el de camaxtle: esto hazian tlacatecco: aquj ponjan, en este dia, muchas maneras de comjdas, muy bien guisadas, como las comen los señores: todas las presentauan, delante de su ymagen, despues de auer estado vn rato alli, tomauanlas los officiales, de Vitzilobuchtli, y repartianlas entre sí, y comjanlas, y incensauan tambien a la ymagen, y ofrecianla codornizes, descabeçandolas delante della: para que se derramasse la sangre delante la ymagen: y ofrecia el señor todas las preciosas flores, que vsan los señores, delante la ymagen.

The Twelfth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce ocomatli they said that the goddesses called Cioapipilti came down to the earth and [that] they harmed the boys and girls, afflicting them with palsy. And if anyone, at this time, sickened, they said that [the Cioapipilti] had caused it; that he had come upon them. And the fathers and mothers on these days did not let their children go outside the houses, so that they might not come upon these goddesses, whom they held in great dread.

La dozena fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce Ocomatli: dezian que decendian las diosas llamadas cioapipilti, a la tierra: y dañauan a los njños, y njñas, hiriendolos con perlesia. Y si alguno en este tiempo enfermaua, dezian que ellas lo aujan hecho, que se auja encontrado con ellas: y los padres, y las madres, estos dias no dexauan salir a sus hijos, fuera de casa: porque no se encontrasen, con estas diosas, de las quales tenjan gran temor.

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce jtzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: ansi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y también a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, también la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta ḍecima fiesta mouible.

Despu[illegible] los padres viẽn que su hijo era de edad para

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[6] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[7]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[8] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[9] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tiltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic nauhcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiioac, tlaulujtectli. [314]

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in ātl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epoçpanjuhquj. [525]

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn itlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaquilli, yn jiappalli.

Jnqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietioh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin maujçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

796 X
778 ●
289
292

796 X
[292
301
237]
[314
624]

[289]

[493
237]

6. Many of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times bore some of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of plant names is of dense confusing. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es vna sierra cerquenta que esta cerca del Tlatelulco.*"

7. *Tlapalli*. Sahagún (Spanish text) has *colorado* (deep red, flush colored); later he has *bermejo* (fiery colored, fallow) for *yiapalli*. For *papeles*, Siler (*op. cit.*, p. 36) has *guirnaldas*; Madiou (*op. cit.*), *cuas orlado de cuyos*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), *bermeo* or black.

8. The Spanish text explains: "*es vna sierra cerquenta que esta cabe guatelulco.*"

9. *Loc. cit.*: "*es aquel montezillo, que esta delante dicho lugarcico, pegueno del Tlatelulco.*"

10. *Loc. cit.*: "*es vn montes, que esta en los cerrejones de Tlatelulco, y alli esta repartimos.*"

11. *Loc. cit.*: "*es vn montes que esta cabe dicho cimeno.*"

12. Siler (*op. cit.*, p. 37) reads *pomadores*, which he translates as *they pigmentbladder Priests*.

13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiquelos cosas alas de papel cosas angelos.*"

feathers; and in these [the children]
were kept

3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. Those who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grime. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the men vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the shredded knotted cord jacket and a small spray of brown feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncā oncan, in teupan, ynic mꜫltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, ano quinmamatiloaia, çan quintzotzona, quintlatlatztinja, iehquin tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel quiça in chiaualiztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja: 796[K] 515 [388]

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, quinmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtna netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, quiquetza in male, quitlalia quauhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech quitlatlalia: yn jamatlaquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec. 796[K] [778]

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlaelittalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ie ic muchichioaia, ipan tetzoca, tecccenmana, tlacatl quicocoronja, motlalia mochimalcalcitiuh, quicacalatztiuh ychicaoxx quicaoatztiuj, quitetoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

muchi tlacatl quimauhtia, ipan macuuj: quitoa, Ie uitz tetzompacquj:

auh itzla aca cana, itzla aca quicuitiuetzi, quipeptlana, quitlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quexquj quitecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaxo in tlamanj, itoalnepanila tlalli ic quiujujoquj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco quiquetza, itlacatzipeualiztquauh, in tlamanj: ic quiiectia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli. 796[K] 778

Auh yoan yn iquac y, tlaccpiloaia: auh ynaca oc cochololtiaia, yn iquentepol malli: yoan mecaxicolli, ustapatlacuetli itech pilcac. [291 237]

Auh in quentepolli, ustaica quiquiquimiloaia, quiicuecuxiia: auh yuje motzcuiotiuia, malcuel. [289]

9. Molinos op. cit., Spanish-Nahuatl section (amole).
10. Corresponding Spanish text: "un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro."
11. Ibid.: "Puesto sobre los paxaros con que se suele adornarse, el captivo quando muere."
12. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia de Nueva España*, p. 96, n. 1: *tzontepaqui*—"el q[ue] tiene gran cabeça (pequeña la cabeça, la traher (tzontli, en compuestos tzon), qui (verbo) cabeçudo, o cabeçuda, o cabeçudo: *tzontepaqui* quiere decir cabeça de vna persona [familia]." This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text requires that the thigh bone was thus manipulated. Sáiz, in *Biología Azteca*, p. 81, has "scapula."
14. *Cuitlapanquetzal*, in Sáiz, loc. cit.

X 796 when it was cold, when it thickened and lay in place, it contracted and remained at rest.

And when day broke, the young men and the priests walked everywhere, to all the houses, from one dwelling to another; they went along the roads to all the houses. And also the priests [did likewise].

But when [the householders] made offerings, [the priests] remained quiet. They might not take part when offerings were made, or when they asked alms.

[578] And if [the priests] were met, if they took part, then there was ill-feeling and anger; there was strife.

[43] The youths took [their gifts] to the young bachelors' house and sampled them there.

And the priests carried [theirs] to the priests' house.

Then they departed to their fields, to get the maize god[dess]. In as many places as lay fields, from each field they got a stalk of green maize.[6]

[24] And in the harvested fields, they took only large *maguey* roots[7] and carried them hence to their houses.

● [778] They decked their maize god[desses] with flowers and set them up in the tribal temples; then they arrayed them and laid offerings for them.

[262] As fast foods they made, before them, five *tortillas;* they laid them in a basket. And upon it went a hard-baked frog, hard and stiff, its face stained blue, a woman's skirt about its hind-quarters. And they set down a large basket of *pinolli;*[8] and toasted maize [mixed] with beans.

And they cut a section of maize stalk and filled it and crammed it with everything laid out before Cinteotl. They took a very little from every [basket] and let the frog carry it on its back.

And when this was done, it was called *calonooac,* "it resteth in all the houses"; because only in houses, only in the homes, were honors paid to the maize god[desses].

And after sundown, they took [the ears of maize] to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl. There they pilfered them and made merry with them; there was skirmishing, blows were struck; all whacked [each other] with them. It was said: "It is scattered."

And furthermore, they bore to Cinteopan, the Temple of Chicome coatl, the maize which was to be seed. Young girls carried it upon their backs.

[302] Some [of the girls] had a long lock of hair on one

oteztzaoac, yn omotlali, hi tzontzoliuhtimanj, iniokatimanj.

Auh yn otlathuje, in telpopochti in tlamacazque, noujian nemj, oncal nemj, tecalpanoa, quicenocujtiuj in calli, no iehoantin yn tlamacazque:

çan in tlatlamanaia tlamattiuj, amo aca vel monepanoaia, ynic motlaueuenjaia, ynic motlacujaia.

Auh intla monamjquja, intla monepanoa, ic motlauelia, ic motlauelitta, ic mihixnamiquj:
in telpopochti, telpochcali qujtquj, vmpa quipaloa.

Auh in tlamacazque, calmecac quitquj:

njman ic vmpeoa, yn jnmjlpan, cinteuanazque, yn izquican manj inmil, yn itech, yn ipan cecentetl milli, cecen cantiuj in toctli.

Auh in tlexinmjlpan, çã mecoatl in conana, quioalitquj, yn inchachan:
quimtonochiotia yn jncinteuoan, in cacalpulco quiquetza: vncan quintlaquentia, quintlamanjlia:

tlacatlaqualli ymixpan quimanaia macuilhetl, acaquauhcaxtica conmana: auh ipan icatiuh cujitlaoatzalli, tepioacquj, quappictic, tlaixtexoujlli. quitzincuetia: yoan cen chiqujujtl pinolli, yoan eeio izquitl conmana.

Auh cem ixtli quitequj acatl vncan quitemjtia, quitentiquetza, yn izquitlamantli, ixpan onoc cinteutl: tepitoton, tepitzcantoton, achipipil, noujiampa quicuj, quimamaltia in cujatl.

Auh yn iquac y, motenecu calonooac, cali onoooc: ichica ca çan cali çan tetlachan in mauiztililoia cicinteu.

Auh in ie teutlac, vmpa quimoncacaoa, cinteupan yn jteupan chicome coatl: vmpa quinamoc, ic nesujltilo, ic neiaiaotlalo, ic neujujteco, ic netlatlatzujteco, mjtoa tepixolo.

Auh no yeau, in cintli, xinachtli ien: vmpa conitquja, cinteupan, yn iteupan chicome coatl, quinnamaltia ichpupuchti:
yn aca tzontzocoltone, yn aca tzonqueme, yn aca

6. *Cañas de maiz* in corresponding Spanish text. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 296) translates the term as *caña de maiz;* Ixtlilxóchitl (*op. cit.*) as "pavesa o mazca de maiz quiere decir que significa."

7. "Otras yerbas, que llamamos, *mezcal,*" in Sahagún's Spanish text. Orozco y Berra (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 338), referring to the maguey, says: "Los indios gruesos tostaban, cocian de jabón."

8. Granulé, roasted maize mixed with chia seed, cocoa, etc., according to Ixtlilxóchitl (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

X 796 in five days the feast day of Toxcatl would come, then they began to sing [and dance].

Now, during this time, Moctezuma came not forth; those who had been [the impersonator's] companions provided the people with food and favors.

On the first day they sang [and danced] at a place called Tecanman. On the second day, in the place where they kept the image of Titlacauan, in the house of the keeper who guarded it. On the third day, at Tepetzinco, in the midst of the lagoon. On the fourth [day], at Tepepulco, which is also near Tepetzinco.

[501] After they had sung [and danced], then he embarked in a canoe. The women went traveling with him; they went consoling him and keeping him merry. Then the canoe arrived; then it touched the shore; then it was beached at a place called Acaquilpan or Caualtepec.

For here he was abandoned, a little [distance] from Tlapitzauhcan. The women then returned; and only they who had freely become his pages accompanied him while he yet lived.

[346] So, it was said, when he arrived where he was to die, [where] a small temple stood, called Tlacochcalco, he ascended by himself, of his free will, to the place where he was to die. When he climbed the first step, as he passed one [step], he there broke, shattered, his flute, his whistle, etc.

And when he had mounted all the steps, when he had reached the summit, then the priests fell upon him; they threw him on his back upon the sacrificial stone. Then [one] cut open his breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun.

For in this manner were all [these] captives offered up. But his body they did not roll down; rather, they lowered it. Four men carried it.

And his severed head they strung on the skull-rack. Thus he ended in the adornment in which he died. Thus he there ended his life, there he terminated his life, when he went to die there at Tlapitzauian.

And this betokeneth our life on earth. For he who [538] rejoiceth, who possesseth riches, who seeketh and covereth our lord's sweetness, his gentleness—riches and prosperity—thus endeth in great misery. For it is said: "None come to an end here upon earth with happiness, riches, and wealth."[12]

X 796 And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] 778 Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Uitzil-

cuĵhi, oquĵuh macuĵilhuĵtl quiçaz yn ilhuĵtl Toxcatl, in pena cujcujca:

yn iquac y, yn izquilhuĵtl y, socmo onmachiztia yn motecuçoma, oc ie ycenujc catca, tetlaqualtia tetlauhtia,

ynic cemilhuĵtl cujcujca, tlocaiocan tecanma: ynjc omjlhuĵtl, vncan in pialoia, in teixiptla in titlacaoan, yn ichã aquĵn calpixaquĵ, yn oquĵpiaia: ynic eilhuĵtl tepetzinco, vmpa in anepantla, ynic nappa tepepulco, çan no itlan in tepetzinco.

Yn on cujcujcac njman ie ic onmacalaquja, itlan ietihuj in cioa, quĵiollalti tiuj, quellaquauhtiuj: vmpa vnquĵça, vmpa onatenquĵça, vmpa quĵmonacana in acalli, ytocaiocan acaquĵlpan, anoço caoaltepec:

ipampa ca vncan ontecaoaloia, achi ie ytlan in tlapitzauhcan: in cioa vncan oalmocuepa: auh ça ichoã in matian muchioa, yn jachoan ocatca, yn oquĵtocatinenca in iẽc oc nemj.

Juh mjtoa yn oacic, in v: can mjquja teucaltontli icaia, itoca tlacochcalco: çan nonoa in tleco, çan mononatlecauja, in vmpa mjquja: in ce tlamamatlatl contlecauja, in ce conpanauja, ce vncan quixamanja, quĵpuztequj yn itlapitzal, yn jvilacapitz, etc.

Auh yn oquĵpantlaz, yn izquj tlamamatlatl, yn opanuetzito tlacpac: njman quĵcujtiuetzi in tlamacazque, conaquetztiteca in techcac: njman ie ic queltetequi, conanilia yn iiollo, no conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

ca çan muchi tlacatl iuh mictiloia, in mamalti. Auh yn jdac amo quĵoalmjmjlooaia, çan quĵoaltemoujaia, quĵnauhcaujaia:

auh yn jtzontencõ, tzompatitech conquauhço, iuh tlantica, yn iuh ipã omjc ynechichioal: ic vmpa ontlamj yn jnemjliz, vmpa contzonquistia yn jnemjliz, yn vmpa omjquĵto Tlapitzaoian.

Auh ynjn ca quĵnezcaiotia, in tlalticpac tonemjliz: ca in aquĵn paquj, motlamachtia, in quĵtta in quĵmauĵcoa in itzopelica, yn jaujiaca in totecujo, in necujhtonolli, in netlamachtilli: injc tzonquĵça vey nezolinjliztli: ca iuh mjtoa, niac quĵtlamitiuh in tlalticpac, paquĵliztli, necujhtonolli, netlamachtilli.

Auh yn nican mexico, yn iquac Toxcatl: motlalia

12. This is a reference to the characteristics of Tezcatlipoca. See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2.

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the offerings which they made upon the feast days of the ninth month, which was named Tlaxochimaco.

The ninth month: it was known as "The Flowers Are Offered,"[1] and [like the others, it] also [consisted of] twenty days.

Two days [before the feast], when flowers were sought, all scattered over the mountains, that every flower might be found—various flowers, mountain flowers: species of dahlia, of *origanum*, a mountain variety of *tagetes*; the *nextamalxochitl*; another *origanum* species, a variety of *tigridia*, of *plumeria*; sweet-smelling mountain clover; *quauhelotzochitl*, [which is a sweet-smelling flower in the form of an ear of maize]; a species of *magnolia*, another of *tagetes*, one of *escobedia*; one of *nymphaea*, as well as a red variety; and the white water lily.[2]

And when [these] were gathered, when they had come to the flowers and arrived [where they were], at dawn they then were strung together; everyone strung them. And when the flowers had been threaded, then [these] were twisted and wound [in garlands]—long [ones], very long, and thick—very thick.

And when they had been arranged, then carefully were they set down; they were handled with esteem, and cared for with reverence.

And when this was done, all the peasants came in a body to make *tamales* for themselves. At sundown they plucked turkeys and dogs, and also at sundown they singed them. Those were singed which would be needed on the morrow.

All were occupied. All remained sleepless, wakeful. In festive mood, all were diligent and busy thus making preparations.

And when morning broke, the temple guardians then ministered unto Uitzilopochtli; they adorned him with garlands of flowers; they placed flowers upon his head. And before him they spread, strewed,

Inic cēpoalli on chicuei capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl, yoan in tlamanalizzli: in quichioaia in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic chicunauhtetl metztli, in moteneoaia Tlaxochimaco. 796^x

Inic chicunauhtetl ilhujtl: moteneoa tlaxuchimaco, no cempoalilhujtl: [805]

viptlatica in xuchitemoloa, necenmanalo in tepepan in tlatemolo in ixquich xuchitl, in nepapan xuchitl, in tepepan xuchitl, yn acoconuchitl, vitzitzillaconuchitl, tepecempoalxuchitl, nextamalxuchitl, tlaconuchitl, ocelxuchitl, cacalonuchitl, ocuxuchitl, anoço acoxuchitl, quavelonuchitl, iollonuchitl, tlalcacalonuchitl, cempoalxuchitl, acaxuchitl, atlacueçona, tlapalatlacueçona, atzatzamolxuchitl. 796^x 137

Auh yn omonechico yn ocaxitico xuchitl, yn oaxiaco, yn otlatujc, njmá ic moçoço, tlaçolo, tlaçoa: auh yn omoçoçoc, xuchitl, mec momamalina, mjlacatzoa, vel viujac viujtlatztic, totomaoac, vel tomactic. 796^x

Auh yn otlacencaoaloc, mec tlamatzin motlatlalia, vel momalhuja, momauizpia:

auh yn iquac muchioaia yn, yn ixquich maceoalli cenoctzi in motamalhuja, teutlacpa in qujujujtla totolti, yoſ in chichime, no teutlacpa in quinchichinoa, techichinolo, in monequinque iostzico: [231 252]

neixpololo, acuchiztli nechioaltilo, necuchiçololo, yilhujnemoa, inhqujn tlatlaciuj, nettetequjpacholo, injc tlacencaoalo.

Auh yn otlatujc in ichoantin teupixque, njman ic ic quitlamamaca in Vitzilopochtli, qujuchicuzcatia, conicpauchitia: yoan ixpan qujtetequjlia, qujtetepanjlia, qujujujpana, qujtetecpiloa, in ixquich 796^x 778

1. Cf. Garcia y Bravo (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88): "Hiualhuitzintli, Tlaxochimaco. El primero era nombre sonido por las de Tlaxcalla. . . . El segundo nombrava se Tlaxochimaco, palabra que Tlaxcaltecatl interpretan, quando son dichos y repetidos los flores; solamente Veynte dias, entra de flores, las la flores principal del mes, correspondia à Huitzilopochtli, le entraua de dalle y los demas dioses eran solamente profesionarse con flores. . . ." Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 142-3) further writes: ". . . adornaban de flores a todos los ídolos, no solamente a los que se veneraban en los templos, sino también a los que tenían por domésticos en sus casas; que por esto dedican el mes el nombre de Tlaxochimaco."

2. For Molina *ed.*, Vol. II, pp. 27-8; Cf. also Fabié Escalera, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and Soler, *Riesgo Español*, p. 156 (where a few Germans equivocate on given). Some are described also in Nicolás Antonio Bastón Serrano *Manifestación Nueva Hispánica Tlaxcalteca* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1681).

X 796 and hung rows of all the varied flowers, the most beautiful flowers, the threaded ones.

● 778 Then flowers were offered to all the rest of the gods, to the images of the gods, [or] devils. They were adorned with flowers; they were girt with [garlands of] them; flowers were placed upon their heads, there in the temples.

Thereupon all together, in all the houses, the homes of the majordomos, the homes of the great noblemen, and the houses of the youths, they laid flowers out [before the idols]. And they spread them out in the homes of each and all.

X 796 And afterwards, when each had been ornamented, then there were feasting and drinking. Everywhere, 535 everyone ate; all were in a festive mood.

And when midday came, then all sang and danced —verily, they drew up all the youths; the masters and the leaders of the young men, the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the Otomí.[3] Here in the god's courtyard there was dancing—in the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli.

[701] And those who led [the dance] were the fearless warriors, the great warriors, each of whom was considered [equal to] a battle squadron, who were not laggards in war; who turned [the enemy] back, [whose exploits] wheeled them hence.

[548] Also the women danced—not the daughters [of onlookers, but] courtesans, harlots—who went between [pairs of the men], they were [all] stretched in a row, taken by the hand or grasped about the waist. They moved all in line they went winding to and fro, nowhere breaking the line, at no time loosing hands. They went in orderly procession.

[533] And the singers, who sang for them, who beat drums for them, who beat the ground drums, were quite apart [from the dancers]—to one side; they were upon a [counterfeit] house, upon the round [778] altar [or pyramid].[4] And the altar was completely round, round like a shield, like a millstone. And here, upon this, stood [the musicians].

And thus they danced: they did not leap, nor make great movements; they did not make dance gestures; they did not move throwing themselves about, nor dance making arm-movements, nor go bending their

nepapan xuchitl, in tlaçoxuchitl, in manoquj, in tlamantli:

njman ie ic tenuchimaco, cenvetzi in inqujchtin tetec, yn inixiptlaoan tetec, tlatlacatecolo, tenuchitilo, tenuchiapano, teicpacxuchitilo, in vncan in tetecpan:

njman ie ic cenvetzi in noujan calpan, in calpixque inchan, in veuei pipilti inchan: yoan in tetelpuchcali, qujcentzacutimanj, qujcentzacuxitimomana in techchan.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn oncencaoaloc mec tlatlaqualo, haatlioa: noujan tlatlaqualo, yilhujtlamacho.

Auh yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh mec cujcoianolo, vel inqujch qujcencaoa, in telpuchtli, in teachcaoan, in telpuchiaque, in tequjoaque, in quaquachictin, in otomj: vncan in netotilo in tenitoalco, yn itoalco Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in teiacana, ichoantin in quaquachicti, in veuei tiacaoã yn iuhquj cecentecuti momatia, yn amo mitzacujlia iaoc, in tecuepanj, in temalacachoanj.

No ichoantin in cioa mjtoiaia, amo ichoan in teichpuchoan, ichoantin in nahaujltianj, yn aviaxnjne intzatzalan mantiuj, inmatitech maantiuj, mocujtlanaoa, çan cenpanti, çan cenpantitiuj, mococolotiuj, acan cotonj, acan momacaoa vipantiuj.

Auh in cujcanjme, in qujacujcatia, in qujntlatzotzonjlia, qujnuenetzotzonjlia, çan nonqua, çan chico, caltech in manj, emomoztitech: auh in momoztli, çan iacaltic, tenjlacachtic, malacachtic, yn jtech, yn itlan manj.

Auh ynic mjutia, amo chocholoa, amono ontlayioa, amo ontlayiauhtiuj, amo motlatlaztiuj, amo

[701]

3. Here and elsewhere, the following equivalents are offered: quappachictli—fearless warrior; telpuchtli—youth; tlacatecatl—master of the youths; telpuchtlatoani—ruler of the youths; telpuchtlapixqui—leader of the youths; tequihua or quauhtequihua—seasoned warrior. To a degree, each definition errs, perhaps, arbitrarily. The suggested equivalents, however, are based upon the following passages from Sahagún (Bustamante ed.): Vol. I, p. 282, and Vol. II, pp. 137, 307 (quappachictin, tequihuaque); Vol. I, pp. 131, 168, 182, 199, 215, 289, 291, and Vol. II, p. 182 (telpuchtli); Vol. I, pp. 168, 291, and Vol. II, pp. 310, 319 (tlacatecatl); Vol. I, p. 291 (telpuchtlatoani); Vol. II, p. 321 (quauhtequihua). See also Clark, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 94, on otomí and quappachictli; pp. 88, 114, on tecuhtli, telpuchtlatoani; Vol. II, pp. 92, 93, 96, 136 on tequihua or quauhtequihua; Gurdon (*Khasi Family Customs*, p. 203) on telpuchtli; Baker, op. cit., p. 258 (telpuchtlatoani), p. 144 (tequihua), pp. 144, 258 (telpuchtlapixqui).

4. Cf. Baker, op. cit., p. 198.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *amecuitol*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *tzomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[11] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan m vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iubqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa caca, yn oqujpepechoque:

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononolca, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iubqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezzlapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, queztepolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli caica.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlaoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cenpoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapalos: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapaloaque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vccan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaxpocan:

11. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 69, 72 esp. In the Rubredo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 251, a note by Seler defines quauhcamatl as "la corteza semidesarrollada por la capa de líber de algunos árboles de género ficus. Servía de papel para los pinteres o los libros, y de ella para hacer los cabestros, cuerdas y otros objetos que el autor de los dioses requería."

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When they had ornamented [the figure of Uitzilopochtli], the young, seasoned warriors, the masters of the youths, and the youths took it up. His breech clout went stretched and spread out before him. They went in procession; they went dancing [and singing].

When they brought it to the foot of the temple, they carried up [the platform]. Cords fastened it to the four [corners], so that they might take it up, that they might carry it. They went stretching [the cords] that [the platform] might not twist.

Then they began to climb up. They went rolling, winding, and reeling [the breech clout] up, coiling it.

As they went rolling up his breech clout, the officials proceeded to take up, gathering and collecting them together, the ceremonial arrows.

And when they had come to the top, when they had raised [the figure of Uitzilopochtli] to the summit, then they placed upon the serpent bench [the paper roll]. They placed it before him; they bound it to [the serpent bench]; they bound it on tightly and firmly.

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When they had come to place it [there], then all came down; still there remained the officials, the priests, the guardians who guarded it.

Then all the people came down.

And this came to pass, that they went up at sundown, when a little sun still shone; and also at sundown an offering was made.

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And the *tamales* which they ate were fruit *tamales*, [which were] red, or *tamales* made of maize softened with lime, or bean and cornmeal cakes,[14] colored *tamales*, *tamales* of coarse, white flour, and [*tamales*] rolled up in amaranth seed dough.

These cylindrical *tamales*, wrapped up in amaranth seed dough—these *tamales* they offered at the temple.

And when it dawned, then offerings were made in their houses; only some made offerings before the devil [Uitzilopochtli].

And quail were beheaded by everyone, women and men.

Moctezuma began [the offering]. He himself, with his own hands, beheaded four quail.

And the priest beheaded other quail, but only by laying his hands upon them.[15]

Then, breaking [loose], the common people followed. All the people beheaded quail—men and women.

yn oquiomcatlhque, cacoquixtia in telpuchtequjcaque, yoan in teachcauan, in telpopuchti, ixpan cnoxiuh, ixpañ çouhxiuh yn jmaxtli, tlaiaoalociuj, qujtotitiuj:

yn ozxitique yeixtlan teucalli, in ie qujtlecatzinque, ca nauhcampa ixticaca mecatl, injc cacoquixtinque, ynjc qujnapaloznque, qujcitilinjtiuj, ynjc amo monecujlox:

njman ie ic qujpeoaltia in tlecoz, qujlacatzotiuj, qujcujxtiuj, qujtecuja, qujtecujxtiuj:

yn jamamaxtli qujoallaxtiuj, in teumjtl concujtiuj, qujnechicotiuj, qujcententiuj in tequjppaneque.

Auh yn opanuetzito tlacpac, yn oqujpantlaznque: njman ie ic conteca coatlapechco, ixpan qujtequjlia, itech qujlpia, qujcacatzilpia, qujteteuhilpia,

yn ocontlalito: njmã oaltemoa, vmpa onmocaoa in tequjpaneque, tlamacazque, in tlapixque, in qujpiaia:

njman ie ic oaltemo in ixqujch tlacatl.

Auh ynin mochioaia, in acoqujçaia: teutlacpa oc achi tonatiuh, yoan no teutlacpa muchioa ventli:

yoã in qujquazque tamalli, xocotamalli chichiltic, anoço tenextamalli, anoço quatecujcujlli, tlapactamalli, quauhnextamalli, yoan tzoualilacatzolli:

ynjn mjmjltic in tamalli, tzoalli ynjc tlailacatzolli, qujcẽmana ỹ in tamalli in teupan.

Auh yn odathujc, njman ie ic tlatlamanalo intechachan, çan aca in ontlamanaia vel ixpan tlacateculotl:

yoan tlacotonalo ixqujch tlacatl, yn cioatl in toqujchti:

conpeoaltia yn Motecoçuma, nauhtetl in çolin yn inoma, yn ĩoma qujcotona.

Auh yn oc cequj, çoçolti, tlenamacac, in qujncotona, çan inpã conmanatiuh yn jma:

njman ie ic tlatzomonj, cenuetzi in macroaltzitli, yn ixqujch tlacatl in tlacotona, yn oqujchtli in cioatl.

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14. Alvaro Tezozomoc: *Histoire du Mexique* (H. Ternaux-Compans, tr.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1853), Vol. I, p. 349, has, for *quauhquiloll-tamalli*, bean and cornmeal cakes with beef or other meats.

15. Baber (*Códice Ramírez*, p. 104) suggests that the priest merely touched them to indicate them symbolically.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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Twenty-ninth Chapter, in which are named the feasts and blood offerings which they made upon the days of the tenth month, which was called Xocotl uetzi.[1]

The tenth feast, that which [was called] "Xocotl Falleth," likewise was of twenty days. They concluded it on the twentieth day.

And when they implanted the *xocotl*, [the Feast of] Tlaxochimaco had ended. They began at dawn; thus for the whole day was exhausted their strength. The overseer[2] shouted that they hasten; he cried out and called to them by name.

He said unto them: "[Use] all your force! Pull upon the ropes! Put strength to it! Exert all your might!"

And he who shouted became hoarse, as if his voice were cracked.

Earth was piled up, a mound of earth was raised,[3] that [the *xocotl*] might be lifted up in place; all exerted themselves; they took hold with all their force.

And the *xocotl* was twenty-five fathoms long. They stripped its leaves and branches; only its crown remained. When they had thus raised it, for twenty days it [wained] as they had brought it, not yet adorned.

And when twenty [days] had gone by, then verily came the celebration of the feast, "Xocotl Falleth." And when the feast was to be observed two days hence, once again they lowered [the *xocotl*]. Gradually, carefully they let it down; they took pains lest it break, crack, or snap. They brought it to rest upon wooden supports;[4] it was let down upon wooden supports, with much caution.

And when they had let the *xocotl* down in some manner, then all went home; all rested. And they piled up all the heavy ropes on the *xocotl*; they cast them back upon it.

Jnic cempoalli on chicuuntj capitulo, vncan motenecca in ilhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalistli: in quichioaia, in ipan ic cemilhujtl, ic matlactetl metztli: in mitoaia Xocotl uetzi.

Inic matlactetl ilhujtl, ichoatl in xocotl uetzi: no cempoalilhujtl vel qujtlamja, in cempoalilhujtl.

Auh in qujquetza xocotl, oiuhialoa tlauchimacotl, ioatzinco in quipeoaltia, ic cemilhujtica vel ontlamj, yn jxtlapaliuiz, tlacaoacatimanj in tepan manj, in tlaciujtia, taatzi, tetzatzilia:

qujtoa. Izquich amotlapal, xitlatilinjcan, ximotilinjcan, ximotlapaltilican:

auh in tetzatziliaia içaoacaia, iuhquj yn jnnnquj tzatzaianja.

Mololhujaia, mocentlatilulcaujaia, ynic meoatiquetzaia, vel motlapaltiliaia, izquich caanaia yn Intlapaliuiz.

Auh in xócotl, injc viac catca, cempoalmatl oenmacujlli: muchi quiécpeviliaia in jmatzocol: ça yio in jxcallo mocaoaia: inic iuhquj in oquijquetzaque, cempoaltica in çan oquivicaca, aiatle itlatquj.

Auh in oacic cempoalli: vel iquac ilhujtl in xócotl uetzi: auh in oquiuhviptla ilhujtl iez, oc ceppa qujteca, can jvian, çan tlamach in qujteca, quimalhuja in ma cuetla, in ma natzin, in ma portec: quauhtonmaçatl, quioalquechilitivi, quauhtonmaçapã in motecatiuh, cenca çan tlamach.

Auh ino quentel quitecaque xócotl: njman ic cacalaca, neccevilo: auh in jxquich vepanmecatl ipan ciecpeuhtitalia in xocotl, ipan contoxauhtitalia.

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1. Cordavy ("Relación breve," p. 303) translates *Xocotl uchetzi* as "*El Xocotl nieue o cae.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, pp. 140, 161) has "*der Xocotl fällt herab*" for both *xocotl uchetzi* and *xocotl uetzi*.

In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 54-5, however, Seler argues that Xocotl uetzi should have been celebrated as the feast of Otontecuhtli, god and governor of the Otomí, rather than for Xiuhtecuhtli. "For Otontecuhtli is the Xocotl, whose likeness was set up at the feast on the top of the tree. . . ." As evidence, Seler mentions the adornment of the *xocotl* and a passage from the *Mç del Palacio* (*ed. sive* Garibay, *op. cit.*, p. 303): *iquac in tlach motlalliaia yn inuuio Otontecuhtli. Tamatimo, Seler adds, the figure was a summary battle.*

2. In the Tolosano ed., Vol. I, p. 108, Sahagún defines the duties of the topan mani as "*los que tenian cuidado de renegar la gente.*" The corresponding Spanish text for *Xocotl uetzi* appears to use the term *diapensador* as a synonym, here rendered into Spanish as *mandadero*.

3. Cf. *Codex Borbonicus*, whose illustrations of this scene and others for the month Xocotl uetzi are in better accord with the text than the illustrations in the *Florentine Codex*.

4. Although the *ç* in *quimbalmanquil ocuuo* close in the Nahuatl subtexts, Sahagún uses *c* in the Spanish text, and defines the term as "*unos cuidores cuelen de dos en dos.*" Probably the word is *quimbalmanquil* (cf. Rémi Siméon, *op. cit.*).

A [i.e., a large tree. -Analyst]

And upon the morrow, then the carpenters came forth and assembled as they arrived. They brought with them their tools; there were adzes and hatchets. Well they hewed and smoothed [the *xocotl*] where it had knots, where the limbs branched out, where it was uneven.

They hewed another pole five fathoms long. They joined it, [so that it would] strengthen the crown of the *xocotl*. They made the crown very even. They girded all the tip with ropes, fastening and placing [branches and pole] within the ropes.

And when this was done, thereupon the fire priests adorned it with papers. The old priests helped and also those who cast [victims] into the fire aided. These [last] were very powerful and tall—exceedingly tall and big. They were chiefs.

The first was named Coyoua; the second was named Çacancatl;[5] the third was named Ueicamecatl. As such were masked they who pressed ahead with adorning [the *xocotl*].

And the *xocotl* image they fashioned [as] of flesh; a dough of fish-amaranth seeds mixed with maize they formed [for this]. They provided pure white papers for it, which they set in place. They bore no design.

Upon it they set [these]: its shoulder suh of paper; its paper breech clout; its papers[6] designed with falcons; its wig made of paper; its *xocotl* shirts, [of which there were] two. These were not put on, but were attached to the tree, in two incisions. Likewise they placed in another incision large pieces of paper, wide—a yard wide—and ten fathoms long, reaching down one-half the length of the *xocotl*.

And also they made three amaranth seed *tamales*, pierced them with sticks, in three places, and set them upon [the image]. And thereupon they bound on the *xocotl* ropes half way up on the *xocotl*—ten [of them].

And when all made ready, thereupon they raised it. And then there was much crying out and shouting.

They said: "Go on, there, brave! Pull with all your force!"

Thereupon they went to setting it upright; they went about raising it [by using] the wooden supports and prying it with a lever. And likewise as it moved, as it proceeded to rise, there was much clamor, much shouting, great din.

Auh in otlatvic: njman oalhuj, oalnechicavi in quauhxinque, qujoalinquj, intlatquj oalictiuh in matepostli, tlaximaltepostli, vel qujpetlaoa, qujxipetzoa, in vncan yixe, in vncā titicujztic, in vncā xixipochtic.

Oc ce qujxima quaoacatl macujlmatl: qujtlaçalhuja, qujtoctia in jxcalo xocotl, vel cōnevivilia in jxcalo, in jquapiztzaoacan, qujmecatecuja, qujmecacuja, qujmecacitlantlalia.

Auh in ie iuhquj: njmā ie ic qujtlamamaca, in tlenamacac, tlapalevia in quaquacujlti, no ichoantin tlapalevia, in tetlepātlaqque. Eintin, cenca chicaoaque, quaquauhtique, quauhticapopol, quauhcholpopol, tetecutin catca.

In ce itoca: coioua. Injc vme, itoca: çacancatl. Injc ei, itoca: veicamecatl: iuhquin mjxpolotinemj, motequjmati in tlachichioa.

Auh in jxiptla xōcotl, in qujnacaiotiaia: mjchiouhtzoalli qujtlalaia, çan cemjxtac in amatl in qujmamaca, in jtech qujtlatlalia: amo ma tlacujlollo.

In jtech qujtlalaia: yiamaneapanal, yiamamaxtli, itlotloma, yiamatzō, ixoxocovipil, ixocovipil, vme: amo onacticac, çan quauhtitech caca: vme itzitziquijlpan: njman no contlalia oc ce itzitziquijlpan, vevei amatl, patlaoac: injc patlaoac, cen iollotli: matlacmatl injc viac, itlacapan acitica in xocotl injc viac.

Auh no eteti tucoxiotl in qujchioa, qujquaquauhço: excan in qujquequetza: auh njman ie ic qujilpia in xōcomecatl, in vncan inepantla in xōcotl, matlactli.

Auh in omocencauh: njmā ie ic qujquetza, njman ie ic tlacaoaca, tzatzica:

qujtoa. Ma ecuel tiacahoaoa, ximotilinjcan, in-qujch amotlapal:

njmā ie ic quexitiquetzivi, cuaquechilitivi, in quauhtzonmaçatl, yoan qujquiuijvia: auh in iquene ie iuh, in ie nexitiquecentiuh: cenca tlacaoaca, cenca tzatzica, cenca chachalaca:

5. Probably pronounced in reverse. Cf. the Jacaltenec-Mexican syllable, p. 139.
6. Reference could be to either paper or beard (*tlalchiotl*); in the Spanish text, Sahagún appears to favor paper.

And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

auh in ie iuhquj onmoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoā comonj: in īe ihuquj, njmā ie ic quitetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic viviloa, cacalaoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjxtlapalhuja, in qujmama tlavizcli, papalotl: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoā in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncā chimalpan icujiiuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamātivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, qujntiçavia, imaxmamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmā ie imamatzon, qujnquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjxtentli'comolоa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmā ie ic mocacaoa, qujncalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, qujnpia in immalhoan.

Auh in peoa in qujntoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in qujça: iehoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: qujntzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquiton intzō in mamalti, qujntequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica qujcujtlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, mazaltic: auh in jtztli injc qujtequja intzon: qujtocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ie iubquj in oconcujque, njmā ic cōtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, qujvica in jchan tlamanj, aco qujpiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Real Simeon, however, renders compound as shin.
8. The context suggests a distinction between *damanime* and *malcque*.

house and hung it high, that thus it might be shown that he had taken captives; that thus his manly exploits might be boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of the house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

And when they had cut [the captives'] hair, the owners of the captives slept but little. They guarded and watched them well; [for] it was their duty, their office, [to guard] lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

And on the morrow, at dawn, thereupon they ranged [the captives] before the skull frame. And as they stood in order, then a man [priest] took off and pulled off the backs of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments—also perchance their wretched little cloaks—and placed them in the eagle vessel, where they burned.

Thereupon, of all the captives, who followed, they continued to place their banners and their little cloaks [in the fire]; there they all burned up. For now at last they were indeed to depart forever from the earth; futilely they stood in order. They awaited the end, for in truth now their hour had come.

And here they awaited Painal,[9] the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Painal came, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed,[10] where the unhappy captives were to suffer. And then, no sooner had Painal come than he then descended [from the pyramid]; a man [priest] brought him down, carrying him down under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he descended, he came before and into the presence of the captives.

A second time Painal quickly went up. And a captor stood there, awaiting him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head,[11] grasping in his hand[12] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Then he went off leading him; and when they reached the foot of the pyramid steps,[13] there [the captor] left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire descended and came to seize him. First they threw incense in his face; then they bound his wrists, bringing his hands behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

ca tlamanj, ic moquichitos, mochipa pilcac calquꝛ-, itech in calquavid, aic oalteno ixquich cavitl in 796 X
mjqujx:

auh in otetzoncujoac oc achi concuchi, in maleque: vel qujmpia, vel qujmjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in ma cholotı in motlepantlaçaxque.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmā ie ic qujmecpana, tzompātli ixpan: auh in ie tecpantimanj, njman çe tlacatl compeoalcia, qujmoxpeoaltia, qujmoxtzintilinja in oc cequjnti: in jpan yoan in jamatlatquj, yoan in ago itilmaçoltzin contlalia qualxtlcalco, vncan tlatla. [415]

njman ie ic mochintin ōatimanj, ommotocatimanj in mamalti, contlaliticmanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzitzi, vncan contlatla, ca ie iccen cōcaoazque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ie vncā tecpantimanj, qujchixtimanj in immjqujx, ca nel ie otlaimmātic:

auh vncā qujchixtimanj in Painal, in jxipda vizzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oacico Painal: njman ie ic tleco in tlacacouhcan, in vncan tlacotinque, mamaltzitzinti: auh in ie iuhquj: çan tequjtl onaci in Painal, njmā ie ic oalteno: çan ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, qujciacavitivitz: inin qujoaltemovia, motenteo jta, anoço inch. Auh in oaltenoc: imjxpan oalqujça, imjxtlan oalqujça in mamalti: [778]

ie no ceppa tlecotivetzi in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iqujcac, qujchixticac: njmā ie icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cōtzitzquja, in jquaciolloco: njmā ie ic qujvicatiuh; in oc xitino in apetlac, vncā qujcana in malli:

njmā ie ic oalteno, in tetlepantlaque, qujoalana: achtopa, qujxiiaulteoja, çatepan qujmailpia, icuapa qujviviquja in jma, yoan qujcxilpia:

9. It is to be understood that Painal was an image carried by a priest who, in this passage and those following, climbed up and down the steps carrying the image.

10. In both Tolosanal and Spanish columns, and in Bdor (op. cit., p. 166), the spelling is *chacuaoloco* ("en Mexicano grande sacrificio," according to Bdor). The context appears to favor *chacuaoloco*. Cf. corresponding Spanish version in the Tolosanal col., and discussion in Bdor citation, op. cit.

11. Slight contradiction in Bdor, op. cit., p. 167, n. 1, 2.

12. On *ayoalo*, see p. 47, n. 11. Schuller (Kikongo col., Vol. 1, p. 191, and Vol. II, p. 303) writes of "*el cuchillo con que se Kimuko ayoalo, que se dicede circuncision los grandes*," and "*los grandes ahoja . . . dicede cuchio la cuna o ayoalo del ca.*"

horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] trampled upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his eagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quiçtzotzontivi in teponaztontli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie injc motenehoa, tecomapilos.

In oacito tsompantitlan: njmã ic conjcça in jveveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie qujchixtoque: vncan oncoa in jmexxaiac injc qujcaoazque iuuc: vncã oncoa cololhujcivi in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlalloa.

Auh in oacito, in vmpa contlalianj in iaupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: itocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, qujnoalnoca: aneoc qujntoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloutz, mec no vi in teisuoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in iehoatl Toci: in ocõcaoato, iconeuh: njman ic ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tiacaoã, in jxquichtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixquichtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tiacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujxmauhcã, in vel in ca momotla in teisuoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxoac: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, iehoatica quauhpetlapan, vel iehoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipecalli in jpan contica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlantica, vel ie in ocelotl yiecuio, injc tlaqujmjlolli icpalli:

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11. Cuellar (op. cit., p. 306) translates *ie motzotzonqua inteuxuh quinoa in cuac qua in ihuiz*: "quipan in tzoncuic." The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (*pisar*).

12. See note 22.

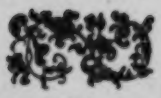
13. The importance of these officers above warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages *f* on Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. II:

". . . capitanes que han de traer cargo de regir la república, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, diuidir hábilidad para que unos gobiernen y manden de la guerra de guerra, que anden por los campos y por los montes, y sobre los ríos, y desiertos a los hermanos, y no se muera ha de entender el governador o maestre a los soldados y criadores. . . ." (p. 53).

". . . los padres y madres del mal, que se llaman tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, que le sirvan y sirven de sus ministros: estos son los que tienen por ropones la rodela y las armas, y allí mueren los cruzados viejos y los hombres viejos, y los hechos de la valentía y las esperas de los soldados. . . ." (p. 305).

". . . sobre los soldados y capitanes había dos generales que los regían, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era jefe y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y siempre parecían en medio con un cuidado para estas oficios. También para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra tuvieron dos, uno noble, o governante y del palacio, y otro valiente, y muy ejercitado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; estos entendían las cosas de la guerra, y del ordenar todas las cosas que concernían a la soldada" (p. 107).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7



Thirty-second Chapter, in which are related the feasts and sacrifices which they made, in the days of the thirteenth month, which was known as, and named, Tepeilhuitl.

The thirteenth feast was known as the "Mountain Feast."

All the digging sticks which were kept in men's houses, and the heavier sticks,[1] made as [representations of] mountains, they covered with a coating of dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And their bones were likewise fashioned of a dough of [ground] amaranth seeds, long and cylindrical in shape. Either fish amaranth[2] or *chía* [was used].[3]

And also they fashioned [images in the form of] mountains for, perchance, one who had died in the water—having drowned—or had been struck by lightning.

And for whosoever had been [thus] slain and not burned but only buried,[4] [to honor him] they also made images of the mountains; they made them all of the dough of [ground] amaranth seeds.

And upon the eve of the feast, toward sundown, they were bathed, their faces were washed.[5] When they [went to] wash them, they went blowing and sounding little clay whistles and little sea shell whistles for [the images].[6]

And they bathed them there at the Mist House; [with] fresh cane shoots they washed their faces. And some [men] washed them only at nearby shores.[7]

And when they had been washed, then the return was made whence they had come; in the same manner they came blowing whistles, with a great din as of shouting. Thereupon were given human form

Inic xxxpoalli on ome capitulo: vncan motenco in jlhujtl, yoan in nextlaoalli, in muchioaia in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl omei metztli in motenco[a]ia, in mjtoaia Tepilhujtl. 796 X

Injc matlacteī omei ilhujtl ichoatl in motenco tepeilhujtl:

in jxquichtin cocoa im pipialo techachan, yoan in ecatzotonti, qujtzepetlaliaia, tzoalli injc qujnpepechoaia: [241] 796 X 778

auh in jmomjo muchioaia, çan no tzoalli, mjmjmjltic, aço mjchioauhtli, anoço cōcotl:

auh no qujtepetlaliaia, in açaca atlan mjc, in jlaqujlo, in anoçe viteco: [765 778]

yoā in squjn omomjqujli, in amo tlatilo, in çan qujxoca, no tepetl ipan qujqujxtiaia, çan moch tzoalli in qujnchichioaia: 796 X

Auh in oqujuh muztla ilhujtl teutlacpa in tzaaltilo, anoço teixamjlo: injc qujmonaltia qujntlapichilitivi, in qujnpichilitivi, cocovilotl, yoan tecciztotonti. [534]

Auh in qujmonaltiaia, vmpan xisuhcalco, xcatzontli ichoatl in celtic ic qujmjxamja: auh in cequjntin çan imxtenco in qujmonaltia.

Auh in ontzaltiloc, mec oaltecuepalo, çā no ivi, [534] 796 X 778

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1. The corresponding Spanish text, Cap. XIII has: "*Assi[m] ellos como todos los que tenian en sus casas la vsanca larga Barauandas Xoxouqui.*" Of these and of crosses, Torquemada (*op. cit.*, Lib. II, p. 277) writes: "*Para cada subsistencia, la primera era, hazer cruzes redondas de palo, à de cañas de Arboles, labrandolas las cabeças de unas palabolanitas que salian. Hazian semejanca de ciertas pequeñas cruzes figuradas, à manera de las Medianas, que acostumbran las Indias, en nuestra Nueva España, las quales llamauan Xoxouqui. . . .*" Clavigero, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7, writes similarly.
2. Molina, *Mexican to Spanish*, *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl vocabulary. In this chapter, however, Sahagún refers to michihuauhtli as *pilloncillo* amaranth. See also p. 68, n. 28.
3. In the Bancroft ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 304, Nicolás León has defined *xoxouqui* as "*Tónalo (Chía de)*"; in his study he used the numbered illustrations in Peter J. Thomson's reproduction, Council in No. 998.
4. Torquemada (*loc. cit.*) further explains: ". . . *en memoria de algunos difuntos, en especial de los que se auian ahogado en Agua, à auian muerto de rayos, que no podiendo ser quemados sino enterrados, à fuessen enterrados por algunos annos.*"
5. Both Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) and Ixtlilxochitl (*op. cit.*, pp. 100-01) differ from this version. In Sahagún, the people wash the same spots which the images stained; in Ixtlilxochitl, the people are washed.
6. Though the coloring seems to refer to the images, in the Spanish text Sahagún writes: "*Lo vltimo de este dicho Barauan a hazer estas cosas al rio o a la fuente. . . .*"
7. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) has: "*el agua que pareçia pareçia a su cara.*"

and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough].

And some molded them well into the night. Thus did they fashion them: they daubed liquid rubber upon the faces [of the figures][8] and they laid [a spot of] fish amaranth seed paste upon [each of] their cheeks;[9] they covered them with banners of white paper spattered with liquid rubber, and they fitted upon them paper headdresses and their forked heron feather ornaments.

And of those who had died in the water, they placed images only upon circular mats,[10] and made them of a dough of amaranth seed.[11]

And when it dawned, then they were set in each one's house, upon reed resting places made of thin, fine reeds; or wide ones; or large, white ones; or hollow reeds.[12] Upon these they placed them.

And when this was done, when they had set them in order, thereupon they laid offerings before them. They offered them fruit *tamales*, and *chili* sauce, or else dog meat, or turkey. And they offered incense to them.

When this was done, one said [of the figures]: "They are seated in the houses." And if one was rich, there was singing and wine was drunk in their honor; and elsewhere they only brought them offerings.

And upon the feast day, there died some women, [who were] representations of the mountains.

The first was named Teperoch; the second, Matlalcueie; the third, Xochtecatl; the fourth, Maisuel, representing the *maguey;* the fifth was named Milnauatl. This [last was] a man, representing a serpent.

Their array [consisted of] paper headdresses and paper vestments daubed with liquid rubber—with much rubber; a great deal of rubber. And the array and adornment of Milnauatl were in the same manner.

Early in the morning they started to go, carrying them upon their shoulders on litters. It was said: "They provide them with litters." They went carrying them there. They went there in litters; they carried them in a roundabout procession. Only the women carried [the litters] on their shoulders. They went singing for them.

quintlapichilitivitze, inhquin tlacaoacativitz, njmā ie ic tetlacatililo, techichioalo quimpepechoa:

auh in cequinti oc vecaioan, in quinpepechoa, inje quintlacatilia, quimixolhuja, yoan mjchioauhtli in quimōtlalilia incampan, quimōquentia in tetevitl, yoan quimōsoquja imamacal, yiaztatzon.

Auh in atlan mjquja, çan iaoalco in quintlaliaia, in jmjxiptla, tzoalli in quinchichioaia.

Auh in otlatvic: mec tetlatlalilo in techachan, tulpepechpan, aço tolpitzaoac, aço tolpatlactli, aztapili, aço azali in impā quitlaliaia:

Auh in ie inhquj, in otecencaoaloc: njman ie ic quintlamanjlia: in quinmaniliaia xocotamalli, yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuinnacatl, anoço totolin: yoan quintlenamaqujlia.

In jquac in moteneoa cali onoac: auh in nitlacamachoia, cujcatilo, yoan tlatlaoanjlilo: auh in casa çan ixquich in quintlamanjliaia.

Auh in jpan in ilhujtl, mjquja cequintin cioa, imjxiptlaoan Tetepe.

Inje ce itoca Teposoch. Inje vme: Matlalquae. Inje ei: Xochtecatl. Inje navi, Maisvel: ixiptla metl. Inje macujlli: itoca Milnaoatl: inin oquichtli, ixiptlan coatl:

in jnechichioal, in jmamamacal, in jmamatlatquj: tlaolhujlli, cenca ollo, moca olli: auh in Milnaoatl, çan no inhquj in jnechichioal, in jtlatquj:

ioanoco in quimpeoaltia in quinnapalotinemj, tlapechtica: moteneoa, quintlatlapechvia, vncan mamantivi, vncan yicativi in tlapechco, quintlatlaiaoalochtia: çan no cioa in tlanapaloa, quincujcatitivi.

8. The corresponding Spanish text reads, besides: "*La cabeza de cada vno vnauan vnaje dos colas, vna de perrezia, y otra de culebra . . .*"
9. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 2, n. 15.
10. According to Sahagún (*loc. cit.*), "*vnaban o vnauan hechan de hazes, sendas esteras de vnauas.*"
11. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 22, n. 118.
12. In the Relación ed. of Sahagún, Vol. III, p. 335, *otzolli* is explained: "*Hay otra cosa a llamas tzompachtli, es vnas cañas y hierbas vnas cañitas huecas llamadas otzolli hazen de ellas petates y otras cosas del agua, y llamanle de vnauas vnauas porque los dibujos salieuan de vnauas.*"

And [the women] who carried [litters] were well and proudly bedight, all in new shirts and skirts, which they had put on them. And their faces were painted and they were arrayed in feathers.

And when the time was favorable that [the victims] should die, thereupon they set down the litters. Then they were brought up [to the top of the pyramid]; they proceeded to leave them there at the [Temple of] Tlaloc. And when they had brought them there and stretched them out upon the offering stone, then the officiating priests and the slayer came to take their places, and thereupon cut open their breasts.

And when [the victims] had suffered, when they had died, then they brought [their bodies] down. And then they lowered them: they only went rolling them down [the steps], with great care turning them over and over.

And when they had come down with them, then they carried them to the skull rack. And when they had brought them there, then they cut off and severed their heads. There they inserted into their heads [the cross pieces of the rack].

And when they had severed the heads from the bodies, then they took [the bodies] to the tribal temples [whence the victims had been sent]. And next day, at dawn, [took place the ceremony] called "They are dismembered." Thereupon they dismembered the [figures made of] amaranth seed dough. And when [the bodies] were dismembered, then they took them up to the roof tops, there to dry in the sun—to dry well and hard. Little by little they kept taking some of it and eating it, and gradually they finished it.

And with the paper array which had been [theirs] they covered the circular stone which they had [used]. And when they had covered them, they hung them from the rafters of the tribal temples. For one year they stood for them; then they threw them down, scattered, in the Mint House. Only the paper vestments they [then] recovered; the circular stone they returned to their houses.

Here ended the feast which was called Tepeilhuitl.

auh in tlanapaloa, vel mocencaoa, iezcan moquetza, mochi iancuiz, in intech quitlaliaia in incue, in inviipil, yoã mozaoa, mopotonja. [292]

Auh in otlaimmatic in ic iquac mjquiquc: njmã ie ic qujtecа in tlapechtli: mec tetlecavilo, qujmoncavitivi in vmpa tlalocan. Auh in oquimonaxitique, mec qujmõteca in techcac: mec oalmoquetza in tequijpeoque, in temjctianj: njmã ie ic qujmeltetequj.

Auh in ontlacotique, in omc ioque, njmã ic qujnoaltemovia: auh inic qujnoaltemovia, çan qujnoalmjmjlotivi, omca çan quẽmach, in qujncuecuepti-vizze.

Auh in oquimõquechcoaque, in inic: njmã ie tzompantitlan: auh in oquimonaxitique, njmã ic quiquechtequj, quiquechcotona: vncã quimõçoço in ixmoxeoã.

Auh in quimõquechcoaque, in inic: njmã ie quivica in incacalpolco: auh in jmuztlaioc, in ocallevic: in mjeoaia, Texiniilo, texiniinjlo: njmã ie ic quiiniuja in tecalli: auh in oquiiniinjque, njmã ic tlapanco quiclecavia, vmpa oaqui, quualvaqui, tepeoqui: achchi concuiivi in quiqua, can juh quitlauja. [778] [264]

Auh in jmuztlaioc ocaica, quiquetzpantia in jaoallo ocaica: auh in oquiquetzitique calquac: comitlas, calpolco, çe xivitl quimattiuh, in quiiaçaivi, in quiqetzaivi, in vmpa xiuhcalco: çanio in jmuztlaioc, centzon: auh in tecalli quiualoqui. [289]

Nican tlamj in jlhuiil, in mocaoaa Tepeilhuiil.

3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X 796 Thirty-fourth Chapter, in which they tell of the feasts and sacrifices which were performed on the days of the fifteenth month, which was called Panquetzaliztli.[1]

The fifteenth feast day: this one was called Panquetzaliztli.

[785] When the feast of Panquetzaliztli had not yet arrived, the priests fasted for eighty days, and laid down green boughs. When they began [the fast], it was upon the day following [the month of] Ochpaniztli. At midnight they spread the green boughs, on all the mountain tops and upon the circular altars, [even those] which were distant.

[292] And this they did until [the month of] Panquetzaliztli arrived. When they laid the green boughs, they went quite naked, wearing nothing. They went carrying green boughs; these [were] green reeds and [534] thorns. And they went blowing their shell trumpets and pottery whistles.[2] They proceeded blowing [them] alternately.

And when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when was intoned the song named the Tlaxotcaliotl—the song of Vitzilopochtli. This was begun at nightfall; and it was ended at the [534] time when the trumpets sounded, when the conch shells were blown.

Also, among them, the women sang and danced—harlots, who went between [pairs of men] (as hath been told). Daily they did this, until twenty days [had passed].

I 796 And when the ninth day before [the feast] arrived, then were bathed in sacred water [the victims known as] the ceremonially bathed ones, or those to die the captives' death.[3] The old men of the tribal temple scented the water; they got the water there

Inic 34 capítulo: itechpa tlamia in Tlaxipehualiztli, in nenhuiloaliztli, in nechicoaia in ipan ic cemilhuitl, ic caxtolteti metztli, in mjnoaia: Panquetzaliztli.

Injc caxtolteti ilhuitl: ichoatl in motenteoa, Panquetzaliztli:

in ajamo aci ilhuitl Panquetzaliztli: in tlamacazque, nappoalilhuitl in moçacoaia, yoan acxoiatlalilia: iquac quipeoaltiaia, in iuh onquin innuntlaioc, Ochpanjztli: in ioalnepantla onacxoiatema, in nevian tetzpeticpac, yoã in momomoaco, in veca.

Auh inin quichiaia, inquichica onaci in Panquetzaliztli, in onacxoiatlalilia, çan pepetlauhtivi, atle intech vetztiuh, quiquitivi in acxoiatl, ichoatl in acatl xoxouhqui, yoan vitztli, yoan intecciz, yoan in cocoviluti quipitztivi, quipapatlativi in quipitza.

Auh in ẽquiz Quecholli ilhuitl: njmã ic pepa in cujcoianolo, in cujcatl in eoa itoca tlaxotcaliotl, icujc in Vitzilobuchtli: im pecaloia, iquac in tlatlapoiaca: auh in necacaoaloia, iquac in tlatlapitzalizpã, in ic tlatlapitzalo:

no teoan cujcoianoa in cioa in xviemjme, tetzatzalan mantivi (in iuh omjo) mumuztlac in muchioa, inquichica cempoalilhuitl.

Auh in oacic tlachicuaviti, vncan motecuhtlaia in tlatlalitili, anoço xuchimjoque: in calpulvevenque, cenanaia atl: vmpa in vitzilobucheo cenanaia atl,

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1. "Ilamapehualiz de hombres," in Orellana, op. cit., p. 312; "el auto de empelotar el pendón" (Quetzalcoatl, op. cit., p. 179)—possibly a reference to the raising of the standard and the statue of Paynal up to the altar in the Temple of Huitzilopochtli. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 297) writes: "Duo-lebantaban de Pendones, ò Vanderas; porque ià por este Tiempo se hazian hacian los estandartes de sus Pueblos, los quales pendian, entrauajados à vnos sus Cuerpos; y en este tiempo entrauajaban sus Mugeres, Hijuelos, y Familias; y à deferencia suya Tenjanitas, y Mexicas, y otros vsauan de hazerlos que todos. De manera, que en todo este libro andaran los Pendones, ò Arma, y continuare todo, y hasta entre ellos vsan ynuchos Cherreria, y Bandolas: porque tambien vsauan à semejanças, y contra ynuchas Gentes, y hazen grandes pleytos, y desafios, y guerras de Confines, y Fronteras, y en estos pongan los Pueblos, y grandes Prouincias, en ordena de empellar, cada qual, sus Naciones, y Indianos. Y como de los estandartes no auia ynuchos cada de diuidirle Armas, y otras cosas, publicandole fauor, y diuisa nuestra sus estrangeros."

According to Tezozomoc (Histoire and Glosas, op. cit., p. 32) it was the special festival of the war captains, who set up a banner in the middle of the temple courtyard.

2. "Trompetas de Caracol sonoro Tendran," according to Sólis, op. cit., p. 288.

3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 1, n. 5; p. 10. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., II, p. 378) says: "Los sacrificados heuian en banquete en que dauan à comer carne humana; esto heuian en la fiesta que se llama panquetzaliztli. Para esta fiesta compraban esclauos que se llamauan tlalticpaques,

at [the village of] Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring called] Uitzilatl, in a cave. With cypress[4] branches they stopped [the mouths of the jars] as they went. They proceeded bearing [the water] with them.

When they had taken [the water] hence, they thereupon sprinkled it upon [the victims], there at the foot [of the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And there they gave [the victims] their paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to die. And they painted them with stripes, in blue, from their feet up to their knees; and from their hands up to their elbows. And their faces they stained in horizontal stripes of alternate colors, light blue and yellow.[5] And they inserted nose plugs made of an arrow and a half disc.

And when it was so done, when they had adorned them, when they had prepared them, then [the bathers, they who owned the slaves,] took them to the tribal temple, but they came hence quickly. Thereupon each [owner of a victim] went to his house [with his slaves]. There they took apart and set down [the victims'] array, placing [their ornaments] in palm leaf baskets for them. And there, together, [the owners] began the singing and dancing, going in company with their women.

And when they had come to the fifth day [before the feast], then they who owned the slaves[6] and the old men of the tribal temple began a fast. They ate only at midday,[7] and bathed themselves at midnight. Having bathed there at the cloud house, they then departed from the tribal temple.

And the woman who was to bathe [the slaves] bathed herself at the water's edge. She set up one there, stained with blood, on the bank. And when the four days of fasting ended, then at nightfall the serpent dance was danced. The bathed victims danced the serpent dance, as well as their owners, who had bathed them, and those who were to seize them, and those who were to bring them down [from the temple, when they were slain], and those who

vmpan ca vitzilatl, oztoc, avevetica in quijoaltzatza- 796x
catiui, intlan quijoalaantivi: 778

in oquijoalhujcaque: njman ie ic quijmatzelhuja, 796x
vncan in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, yoan vncan quijn- 302
mamaca in jmamatlatquj, in jmamanechichioal in
jpan mjquizque, yoan quijntexo vavana in imjcxic,
inmetzpan tlatlamj, yoan in inma, imacolpã tla-
tlamj: yoã imjxtlan tlatlaana, ic tlatlapantiuh in texo-
tli, in coztic, yoan quijmonelalilia iacapilolli, mjtl [301]
muchioa, yoan anecuiotl.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oquijmõchichiuhque, in 796x
oquijmõcencauhque, njman ic quijnvivica in incacal- 567
pulco, çan oalquijquijztiquijça, njmã ie ic vivi in incha-
chan tealtique, vmpa quijnxixitinja, quijntlatlalilia in
intlatquj, quijmõtanatemjlia. Auh vncan in teoan
cempoaltia in cujcoianoa, quijnvivicativi in incioa-
oan.

Auh in oacic, vncã tlamacujlti: njmã vncã cem-
pealtia in moçaoaia tealtique, yoan in calpulveve-
que: tlacatlaqueia, yoan maltiaia in ialnepantla: [515]
vmpã ihuiuhcalco in oammaltiaia, vncan oneoa in
calpulco.

Auh in cioatl tealtia, çan vncã in jatenco oammal-
tia: oc vitztli oquetza atenco caço: auh in oaxõquijz [535]
navilhujtl, injc moçaoa: njmã ic oaliova in coane-
cujlolo, coanecujloa in tlaaltilti, yoã in tealtique,
yoan in teanque yoan in tetemovique, yoã im panoa-

[illegible] quiere decir, lavados, porque los lavaban y regalaban para que muriesen, para que se [illegible] ... [illegible]

The [illegible] (Garibay, op. cit., p. [illegible]) reads: [illegible]

4. Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. [illegible]) ... [illegible]

5. Seler, in Codex Vaticanus Nr. 3773 ... [illegible]

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "Dueños de los esclavos."

7. "Comían al medio día" (Sr. cit.); ... [illegible] (Garibay, op. cit., p. [illegible]).

X-796 came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come [346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

ohuchtli: in ocalitemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenoca Teutlachco: vncan quimõmjctia nauintin: vme amapan, vme vappatzan: in oquimõmjcti, mec quiavivilana, tlachco: iuhquin ic tlatlacujloa imenço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received [778] him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec oaleoa, cenca quimotlalchtia, vncan quiça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiquiça itoca Quauitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçacaoan:

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

auh in oconantiquiça, mec vi, vmpan ommoculoa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiquiça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan quiça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquitlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiquiça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acachinanco.

mec vi, vncã quiztiquiça in tepetocan, ie coioocã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic quiçalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in icholtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in iquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter] [714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilõ, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, quimpalevia cequjxtin tiacaoan: quimmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, youa chimalli, cuitlachtzco: çan ocoquavitl in iaanac oonoc.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird [411] arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

Auh in vitznaoa quimpalevia tlatzontzotli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilõ quimnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiõtl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, op. cit., p. 205, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (tzoalizlan)—not in the temple of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the temple of Tzoalizlan.

10. Ibid. (op. cit., p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods; but, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the impersonator of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: "Luego derramaba su sangre, con gran prisa, trayendo en los brazos la estatua de paynal, natural de Huaxtepeculco." This priest was dressed in the language of Quauhtinchanl, according to Torquemada (op. cit., p. 202).

12. "allí le salia a recebir, el compañero de aquel ydolo, que la llamaua dael dicho Quauhtinchan" (corresponding Spanish text).

night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

amazodalo: in tlamj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlaltitech penhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in qujquequetza, vei oncā cemjllujtia:

And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

auh in tepicque achtopa qujnmolcaoaltiaia in tlamacazque, injc qujnchivilisque imamatlatquj, tepictotō: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in qujchichioaia.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec qujqujtze in inchā tepiqujnj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoā imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec qujnchichioa in tepicme qujntlamamaca, qujntlaquētia:

And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

auh in aca qujpiquja, aço m cujltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in qujchichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhquemc, Tepeznintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

Auh in qujnpiquja iehouantin in tetepe: in popocatepetl, in jztactepetl, anoço iztac ciouatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhquemc, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chiaume coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and saucer bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

Auh in oquiscencauhque, mec qujntlamaca, ee-cencj mjecavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitonn, cenca çā achitonn, papatlachotentli papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtomco in qujntetemjlia, yoā inmolcaxtontin, yoan inçoçujecōtontin, çan no tepitonn cēcā achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

auh nappa in qujntlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan mani vnotl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli cncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, ichuatl in tzilacatotli, xoxoctic, qujxtlapanaia, qujoalqujxtilia in jaiovachio, qujoalaiouchequjxtia: yoan qujoalqujxtilia in jcujtlaxcol, in juhqui mecatl, vncan contoca in otocti,

4. Three are learned in the chapter on Aztec crucifix. See p. 43. Tepeznintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzintzin and Tepepulca named in that chapter.

5. Cucurbita ficifolia Bouché (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 333).

6. Cf. Sahagún (loc. cit.)—Alcohol (Lemke). Actually, however, it defined (Dávila Padilla op. cit.) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[1]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they mixed what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed rasers, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mint House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." Now came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceioal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796X 778

Auh in tlapitzalli amo ichoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaxilolia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzetzopaztli, njmã ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [286]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmã ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchios, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xonovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmõmjctique tzoalti: njmã ic ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cõtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in qusubcaxtoconti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujch aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan aztopilquavid, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtoconti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaca in aiauhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoztique, njmã ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlaconanotzalti, in tepictlaquaxque: mec tetlamaco, cococnj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmã ie ic qujnmaca in vctli. 796X

auh in cioa no calaquj, motenoca ontamalcaca, niac çan juh iuh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujxqujtiuh in cioa qujcuecuexcanotivi: auh in oca icintzin in qujxquj, aço cxmololoti, mooço tlamjc.

Auh in onotecaque, in onotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmã no qujmaca in vctli, qujntlaolcia, qujnoalmanjlia tlilpaxtica in vctli, yoã qujoalmana in tetlaoan, in tlaoanooj, in tlaoãcaxitl, çan no tlilic. 273 416

Auh in jquc: cencaca tenvid, in nexilacalli cõna- [202]

1. The Nahuatl MS reads (Durán, op. cit., p. 214): "*tomaron estos papeles blancos con los instrumentos dichos*"—"*Tomaron los dichos papeles blancos con los instrumentos dichos*." Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 306) thus describes it: "*cañutos por los pechos, con su Tlahuipantli, que es un palo redondo, con que atan los Maçorcas, ó mazorcas de maiz, ó cañutos, acañutados al rededor, que semejan los dichos papeles, en la manera de la cruz, y encomendaban los cabellos, antes encomendaban hazer á los Sacrificadores, y guerreadores.*"

Thirty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood one on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vanes. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his maxtli was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was down, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

Inic cempoalli on caxtolli ommne, cept. ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequipanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhuitl, ic caxtoltetl omcy metztli, in mjtoaia in motenteoaia Yzcalli. [796^K]

Inic caxtoltetl omey ilhuitl: ichoatl in motenteoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia oauhquiltamalli, [796^L] motenteoa, mitoaia, motlaxquian toca, ichoatl in tleti, quitlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in quichioaia, quixaiscatiaia, yn izuiac chalchiujtl in tlachiocalli, ziuitl ynic [778] ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca [262] iuhquin cuecuexoca, cenca mihiiotia:

yoan conaquja yn itzontecō quetzalcomjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhquin zezeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhquin iquxquaxuh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quamenaliti, quetzalxxontecomaio yiomexti: auh yn jtzintlan quetzalcomjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxxiuhian vetztica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhquin ma nelli itzon:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motequjtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl idlan calaquj, iuhquin maacemana, iuhq'n cuecuexoca, iuhquin cuecuexoca.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, ocelocoztl, ocelxpetlati maçoxuloac, çan iuh ca in jxcontecon, ixtlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, icoalnopantla in tlequaxtlaça. Auh in ovetz tleti, njnan ic ic quipicza, nec tlelalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tleti, in otlevic, in otlatlalchipanoc, nec onmotecpana, ilmiacatia in telpopochti, in [796^M]

1. "Izcalli," or "the upspring," according to Orduña, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Torquemada favors the meaning "rebirth" (*op. cit.*, p. 360): "quiere decir: Renacimiento, ó el de la resurrección; porque por cuanto dicen, el quinto sumbre el diluvio, y pasan de ello 8 años, y comienzan la Renovación." In Quiahuitl (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 54) it is suggested that the literal meaning of Izcalli is "born is the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text reads: "hazian la estatua del dios, del fuego de madera, y poníanle mascara, como una cara, que ellos llaman xiuhtl, que quiere decir turquesa, o esmeralda."

A 796 selves in line and came up the youths and small boys, who offered the old men serpents which they had captured. The old men took these from them and cast them into the fire—everything, whatever they
[136] had captured; all the birds—the thrush, the precious thrush, small birds found among the reeds—all the varied kinds of birds; and the water dogs, scorpions, striped lizards, trout, the white fish, the sand fish, crabs, frogs, gulls[3]—all these they cast into the fire.

[262] Then appeared [the boys], and [the priests] offered each one a *tamal* stuffed with greens. And all the common folk made themselves *tamales* stuffed with greens. They laid them before [the image of] Xiuhtecutli. As many as offered to Xiuhtecutli did so purely voluntarily. And some laid them as offerings only in the tribal temples.

And the *tamales* stuffed with greens they also named precious green stone *tamales*. And all the common folk presented among themselves their *tamales* stuffed with greens; they were presented among themselves. Whoever first cooked her *tamal* of greens then went to offer it to her kin. Thus she showed her self-esteem.

[262] And the sauce of the *tamales* stuffed with greens was a sauce of crabs.[4] And the sauce was called *chamolmolli*. And when the good common folk ate, they stood sweating and burning themselves. And the *tamales* stuffed with greens were very hot and gleaming; and they ate them hot, [so that even] their noses steamed. And the husks they set apart; no one let them reach the fire. They strewed all of them in the water.

[273] And when this was done, when all was eaten, thereupon wine was drunk. It was said: "They are refreshed; the old men refresh [themselves] there in the Temple of Xiuhtecutli." And thus they refreshed [themselves] with wine; they sat drinking and singing until it was dark. Here ended and concluded [the time when] *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten; the eating of *tamales* stuffed with greens.

X 796 And when Izcalli came, when twenty days were
● 778 counted, [this was] when Milintoc roasted something for himself—[he who] likewise [was god of] fire. They also set up his image, which was only a frame-

pipiltotoxti, quiynômacatimanj, in vevetque, in cocoa in oquimacique: quinoalcujlitimanj in vevetque, tleco quimonotlaztimanj, yoan in ie inquich, in aquin çaço tlein ocacic, in jnquich tototi, in acatzanatl, in teutzanatl, in acatechichictl[2], in ie inquich nepapâ tototi, yoan in xxoloti, in acalxtepon, in mjlquiaxochtli, xovili, in amjlotl, in xalmjchi, in acocilin, in cujatl, anenez, moch tleco quimôtlaztimanj:

njmâ ic oalquiztimanj, quinoalmacatimani, cecentetl in ossuhquiltamalli. Auh inquich tlacatl in macecalli moossuhquiltamalhuja: ixpan ontlamania in xiuhtecutli: çan triollotlama, in quexquj ontlamania ixpan Xiuhtecutli: auh in oequintin çan in cacalpulco in tlamania.

Auh in ossuhquiltamalli, no quitocaiotiaia, chalchiuhtamalli: auh in jnquich macecalli netech quimomacaia, in inossuhquiltamal: netech motladamacaia: in aquin achto oicucic, iossuhquiltamal: nec iauh quimacaz in jeliolquj, ic quinextia in netlaçotlalitli.

Auh in ossuhquiltamalli in jmollo catca, acocildamojlli: auh in tlaxojlli, motocaiotiaia, chamolmolli: auh in jquac tlaquaia macoaltzintzisti, tojtonjnoque, mochichinotoque: auh in ossuhquiltamalli, vel totonquj totontlapetztic quitotoncaqua, iaiacapoçontoque: auh in jnoaio, çan nonqua quitlaliaia, niac tleco conaxitiaia: mochi atlan contepeoaia.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ontlatlaqualoc, njmâ ie ic tlaoano: mjtoa, texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in vmpa itzupan xiuhtecutli: auh injc texcalcevia vetli, tlaoantoque, cujcatoque, çan iuh ioca, njcâ tlamj ic tzonquiça, in ossuhquiltamalli quaio, in anoço vuuhquiltamalqualiztli.

Auh in omacic Izcalli, in jquac tlacemposki: iquac motlaxquipiia in Milintoc, çan no ie in tletl: no quitlaliaia inipela, çan no ololli in quichioaia, omaquja ixuiac, tapachtli in tlachioalli, motentlilhuj, in tlili

3. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, p. 199 (*calquamichi, cuculi, cuchlini*); p. 199 (*quecelli, cuicuichli*); p. 134 (*tzonmimilli*); pp. 197-8 (*tzonmimilli*); p. 188 (*cuecuechcuelli*). *Acuchli* is *Anaitidopsis oligocarpa*, according to Gerónimo (*Libro del alfabeto*, p. 191), and *Acuchtzonmitz tzonxiuhcan* (wood spoon) according to Clavé (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 73); Robert Lehmann-Nitsche ("Tzoncalli-spiess und Quauxicalli-stock," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXIX, p. 79) says it is a "*schlangenähnliches Lanzen (Flechtwerk)*." For *cuculin*, Clavé (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 90) has *Cyperus articulatus*; *El cuculcul* (Vol. II, p. 73) "a white fish like a small eel." Cf. also Sahagún, *Ilustrado Ragland*, p. 233.

4. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 197-8.

work which they made.[1] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *tezcatl*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[2] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[3] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[4] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

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auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpololli in jcuexpal nochiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolnochiuh, tetolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhquin ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjtl, no vecа vilanoc.

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Auh ixpan quimanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopclia: njmā ic quimana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

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Auh in oquitlalique Milintoc, nec tlamanalo ixpan, cecemiaca in macoxoltri, cenixuh in mamacujlli, itzachi in jupā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotoni, quauhtitech quiçapipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jequjch omjoo in ioiolinoc: quimonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco quimōmiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjtin çan tepitoton in ioiolinoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in vevetonia cocoa, in ōmocaque, quimonantivi, tlecuillan quiçoallantimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan quiçaque in calpulliocvetoque.

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Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotoni, ic calqujztimanj, cecem quiçaoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iehquj in cuquiloc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic tenxalcuvilo, tenxalcuvia in vevetque in vocan ixcopan, in jcalpoloo Milintoc. Auh in tlachioque, in tecutlachicque, quiçaloaoa cecen caxiil in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecen spilohpiniuh,

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Tenian una cosa, cuasi de *Alua*, de *Aspa*, de pulidor y labrador cuadra, cosa sin obra, . . ."
2. Corresponding Spanish text: "y entrepuesto unas plumillas de plumas galanas, que parecian cosas guardas de colores."
3. Bibliophile: "una manera de manta que llaman ehecapilli, de cada cuadrilla, labrada sin cosura . . ." (Sahagún, Bustamante ed., Vol. II, p. 180).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

Temple of Uitzilopochtli
Cenrepetl.[1] 1.

Uitzilopochtli's feast came three times; they celebrated his feast [three times] in one year.

The first time was [in the month] named Panquetzaliztli. And this was the time when they took up [to the top of the pyramid] this Uitzilopochtli [and] a second [god] named Tlacauepan Cuexcochtzin.[2] And thus did they take up the image of this Uitzilopochtli: all the priests and youths took it up in their arms. And the image of Uitzilopochtli was [made] only of a dough of amaranth seeds—very large; almost a fathom [tall].

And [the image of] the second [god], whose name was Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was likewise made of a dough of amaranth seeds.

And the image of Uitzilopochtli was made, and took the form of man, there at a place called Itepeyoc. And the second [god], Tlacauepan Cuexco[ch]tzin, was made, and took the shape of man, there at a place known as Uitznaoac calpulco. And during the night they cooked and formed [the images].

And when it dawned, they were already shapen. Thereupon offerings were laid before them. And after noon all them danced; all went in procession. And when the sun entered his house [at sunset], they took [the figures] up [to the top of the pyramid]. And after they had gone to set them in place, all descended. [The images] remained there all night. And the priests who guarded [them] were called Ilapoch.

And in the morning Paynalnzin came forth, who was himself the vicar of Uitzilopochtli. [A priest] carried [the god] in his arms. And the image of Paynal was formed of wood. And he who bore him in his arms was called Tepiltzin Quetzalcoatl. He was richly bedight with his feather device.[3] And the image of Paynal was thus adorned: [it had on] its hummingbird disguise, its arms, its golden banner, and its green stone necklace. And over the small of its back went hanging the mirror device for its back,

Vitzilobuchtli Isencal
cenrepetl. 1.

In vitzilobuchtli, cepa in quiçaia ilhuiuh, in quilhuiquiztiliaia, yn ipan ce xiuitl.

Inic cepa ipan in mitoaia panquetzaliztli: auh ynin vncan acoquiçaia, in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli, yn omextin yn itoca Tlacauepan cuexcochtzin. Auh ynic quitlecauiaja in iehoatl vitzilobuchtli ixiptla, vel ixquich in tlamacazqui, in telpochtli in quinapaloaia: auh yn ixiptla catca vitzilobuchtli, çan tzoalli, cenca vey, cennequetzalli.

Auh ynic vme in itoca Tlacauepan, cuexcotzin, çan no tzoalli in ixiptla catca.

Auh in muchioaia, in tlacatia Vitzilobuchtli ixiptla: vmpa yn itocaiocan Itepeioc: auh ynic vme, in tlacauepan cuexcotzin, vmpa in muchioaia, in tlacatia, itocaiocan Vitznaoac calpulco: auh ceniocal in quimicuitiaia, in quintlacatilaia.

Auh in otlatuje, in otlacaqui: njman ie ic ymixpan tlamanalo: auh in ie teutlac, njman ie ic netotilo, necuololo: auh çan ie oncalaqui, in tenatiuh, in quintlecaujaia: auh yn oquimcontlalito, njman ie ic oalhemoa, vmpa ceiual cate: yoan quipapaia tlamacazqui, yn itoca Iiopoch:

Auh yn otlatuje, niman ie ic oalquiça, in paynaltzin, in çan no ie yxiptla Vitzilobuchtli, quinapaloa: auh yn ixiptla paynal, çan quauxil tlaca ieiuh: auh in quinapaloa, itoca tepiltzin Quetzalcoatl: cenca mochichioaia, yiapanecaiouh: auh yn ixiptla paynal inic mochichioaia, yvitzitzilcasal, yiamecaiouh, yteucujtlapil, ychalchiuhcoaxoxouj: auh yn icujtlapan pilcatiuh, iehoatl in cujtlatecatl, çan mache in teuxiuitl:

1. See Lib. III, cap. I, § 1.
2. Described as companion of Quetzalcoatl. (Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 142, 155).
3. Cf. Sahagún (Bulletin 61), Vol. III, p. 111.

[796] [293] all of fine turquoise. And he who led [the god] carried his serpent staff covered with turquoise.

And when [the priest with] Paynal came to Teotlachco, then [men] were slain before him. Those who died, who were named Amapantzitzin, were both impersonators [of the god Amapan].[4] And many more captives [also] died.

And when they were slain, then they began the procession of Paynal. They arrived at Tlatelolco, and when they had arrived there, the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense and beheaded many quail [before him]. And then they set forth [again] and reached Popotlan; and in the same way the common folk came out to meet him and offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. And again they started forth, and arrived there at Chapultepec, and in like manner the common folk greeted him and burned incense, and beheaded many quail [before him]. Thereupon they continued and arrived at Tepetocan, and also the common folk came out to meet him and offered up incense and also beheaded many quail [before him]. Then they set forth and reached Acachinanco, and also the common folk came out to receive him, offered him incense, and beheaded many quail [before him].

Thereupon the insignia went forth first, and when the insignia arrived, thereupon they mounted to the top of Coatepetl, where was [the image of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had gone up, then they laid out the wooden serpent[5] and circled about it many times. Then all came down from there.

auh in qujiacana qujtqujtiuh ycoatopil, xiuitl ic tlaqujmjlolli.

Auh yn onacic, in teutlachco in paynal, njman ie ixpā mjcos: ichoantin in miquja yn jntoca Amapantzitzin, çan vmētin teixiptlaoan: auh ich cenca mjequintin in mamalti miquja.

Auh yn onmjcoac, njman ie ic vnpeoa, yn tlaiaoaloz Paynal: vmpa onaci in tlatilulco, auh yno onacic, njman ie ic qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaquilia yoan miec çolin qujcotonjliaia. Auh njman ie ic vmpeoa, onaci in popotlan, çan no iuh qujnamjq'a in maçeoalli, qujtlenamaquilia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonaia. Auh njman ie no cuel vmpeoa, vmpa onaci in chapultepec, çan no iuh qujnamjquj in maceoalti, qujtlenamaquilia: yoan miec çolin qujcotonjlia. Niman ie ic vmpeoa onaci in tepetocan: no qujnamjquj in maceoalli, qujtlenamaquilia, yoan no miec çolin qujcoteona. Niman ie ic oalpeoa, valaci in vncan acachināco: no qujnamjquj in maceoalti, qujtlenamaquilia, no miec çolin qujcotona.

[778] Niman ie ic oalpeoa in machiotl, auh yn oacico im machiotl, njman ie ic tleco, yn jcpac coatepetl: in vmpa ca vitzilobuchtli: auh yn odiecoc, njmā ie ic conteca, in ezpanjtl, yn otlaiaoalo: njman ie ic oaltemo.

4. See esp. xxxiv, above.

5. See fol. xli, and n. 17.

were then made. But everyone drew blood; straws were passed through tongue or ear-lobe, and incense was offered. Everyone [did so]; none were negligent.

And there was the image of that one, [the sun, at a pyramid temple] called Quauhxicalli. There was erected his image, his image was designed as if it had the mask of a man [but] with [the sun's] rays streaming from it.[10a] His sun ornament was round, circled with feathers; surrounded with red spoonbill [feathers]. Here in his presence was the fasting done, and the passing of straws through the flesh, the laying of offerings, and the slaying of quail.

And upon his feast day, also many captives died, and these were also called "those who died in war." These went to the house of the sun and dwelt with the sun.

neçocohoaia, tlacoquistiloia, tlenamacoia muchi tlacatl aiac ixcauhticatca,

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auh inon catca ixiptla, ichoatl, in motenchoaia quauhxicalli, vncan moquetzaia in jxiptla, injc mjcujlovaia in jxiptla iubq'n tlacaxaiaque itonameio itech quiztoia in jtonatiuhtlatquj iavaltic vej ihujtica tlatzaqualli, tlauhquechol injc tlatzaqualli, vncan ixpan muchioaia néçoliztli, in tlacoquistiliztli, in tlamanaliztli, in tlacotonaliztli.

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Auh inilhûjuh ipã no mjiequjntin miquja mamalti, auh no mjtovaia in iaumiquj : matiuh ichan vjia itlan nemj in tonatiuh.

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woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

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And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

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And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiaztin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

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And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[7] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan anoce monecaoalujltequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaihiiouja cucuxquj, cenca quitlatlauhtia quitzatzilia, ymac tlatetoloc; quilhuja.

Titlacaoane, ma oc xinechmocaxaujli, macaocmo iuh njnochioaz, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatilia, moujctzinco njnonenoltia, ma njmjtznotlatlaiecultilia: intla itla njcnonenextilia, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocxitzin ic ticmoquechiliqujuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuxquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahouia: quilhujaia.

Titlacaoane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman quinpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequintin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacaoan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçaoalpilli: auh ynjc moteneoa, moiocoia, in tlein qujiocoia, in tlein qujlnamjquj, njman qujchioa: aiac qujiocoia, aiac quelleltia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jxquich anaoatl tentica, yn aquin quinequj quicujltonoz, quicujltonoa: yoan yn aquin quittitiz, in cococ teupouhquj, qujttitia. Auh yn iquin moçomaz, immonenequiz, yn jquin tlatziuiz, qujoalpachoz yn ilhujcatl topan manj, tipopoliuinque.

Auh yn titlacaoa, quicentzacutimanca yn njca ynic notzaloia, in tlatlauhtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh noviian quitlalilia yn jchial, in mumuztli.in vtlica, in vmaxac, noujian chialoia. Auh in mumuzco acxoiatl quitlalilaia, ynjc tlamacujki ilhujcl, ynjc tzonquiça ompoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtiuja, yn jpan ceceneci ilhujtl, ynjc tlantiuh cecempoalilhujtl.

ie inquich.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has unmodified and unsuccessful, probably means for unmodified and unsuccessful.
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Postilla[rium] de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Godoy notes that *chontlaquac* may also be more literally rendered "upstair; e. me 'house (floor) e. mother, etc.'"
In this paragraph, we have used *nimjnez* as *nimjnez*; it might equally well be *nimjnez* (I shall sing).
5a. "Fly outdoors." In the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Molina, *op. cit.* (*vocabulario*), and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 14, 102. The term *vocabulario* is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 8.

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

53. Tribute left for the Spaniards (Chapter 18). 54. Alvarado asks to see the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 55, 56. Spaniards see preparations for the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 57, 58. Preparations of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(I)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Astec NU7

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—After Paso y Troncoso

59-64. Preparations of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19).

[p. 44(J)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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— *Ajtec Paso y Troncoso*

65. Preparation of the image of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 19). 66-70. Massacre of participants in the Feast of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter 20). 71. The massacre is announced to the Mexicans (Chapter 20). 72. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21).

[p. 44(K)]

Nineteenth Chapter. Here is told how the Spaniards commanded the Mexicans to observe the Feast of Uitzilopochtli; yet this came to pass not in the presence of the Captain, for at that time he had gone to the coast where Pánfilo de Narváez had arrived.

And thereafter [Pedro de Alvarado][1] then asked, as to the Feast of Uitzilopochtli, how the festival [was celebrated]. He wished to marvel at and see how and in what manner it was done. Thereupon Moctezuma issued the command. Those of his vassals who had access to him brought forth the word.[2]

And when the behest had come forth from where Moctezuma was imprisoned, thereupon the women who had fasted for a year ground the amaranth and prickly poppy[3] seed there in the temple courtyard. The Spaniards appeared, decked with great war array; they were dressed in battle gear, bedight as warriors. They came into [the group], walked among them, encircled them, looked at each one—stared into the faces of the grinding women. And after this, when they had come to see them, they then entered the great palace. As is known, they say that at that time they would have slain them if many of us warriors should have been assembled.

And when the Feast of Toxcatl had arrived, toward sundown they began to give man's form to the body [of the amaranth seed dough image of Uitzilopochtli]. They formed it, and gave it the look and appearance of a man. And of this one they fashioned the body only of a dough of amaranth seed and of fish amaranth seed.[4] They formed him on a framework of twigs—[the framework of] Uitzil [opochtli; one laid in] angles.[5]

Inic exrtolli onnavi capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quçnjn Españoles, qujnnecotique Mexica: inic quj-chioazque injllhujuh vitzilobuchtli: auh inin amo ixpan muchiuh in Capitan: ca iquac in vmpa ia atenco inic acico Panphilo de narbayez.

Auh çatepan, njman ie ic qujtlanj in jilhujuh vi-tzilobuchtli, in quenamj ilhujuh, qujmaviçoznequj qujttaznequj, in quenamj, in quenjn muchioa: njmã ie ic tlanaoatia in Motecuçoma, in aqujque vel oconcalaquj itechiuhcaoan, qujoalqujxtiaia in tlatolli.

Auh in ovalqujx tlatolli in vmpa caltzacutica mote-çuçoma: njman ie ic qujteci in oauhtli chicalotl in cioa, mocexiuhçauhque, vncã in teuitoalco, oalquje-que in Españoles, cenca onocoreencauhq̃ in jca iu-tlatqujtl, moiauchichiuhque, moqujchchichiuhque, intlan qujqujça, intzalan qujqujça, qujniaiavaloa, qujnccecmjtta, imjxco tlatlachia in teci cioa. Auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmonjttaco, njmã ie ic calaquj in vei tecpan, iuh machiztic: qujlmach iquac temjc-tinquja intla mjec tlacatl cenquiçani toqujchtin.

Auh in ie cocic ilhujtl in toxcatl, teutlacpa in quj-peoaltia in qujtlacatilia in jnacaio, qujtlacatlaliaia, qujtlacatlachichtiaia, qujtlacanextia. Auh inin qujna-caiotiaia çan tzoalli, ic in mjchioauhtzoalli, tlacope-pechpan in qujtlaliaia, ic in vitzitzillacutl, yoã nacxt-tlacutl.

1. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

2. Cf. J.-M.-A. Aubin, *Mémoire de la ... reproduction du Codex de 1576* (Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1893), pp. 80sq., relates the narrative of the Conquest somewhat a different version.

3. Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 202-203 (*chiaulhuil* = *espino*, "cardo," Argemone mexicana L.); Sonnenschein, *op. cit.*, I, p. 482 (*chiahuitl*); Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 203 (*cenxixiuh* = *Argemone* of Mexico); Cecilia Hulse Mendoza, *Mexican Plants for American Gardens* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1905), pp. 137-138 (*papaver family — Argemone grandiflora*).

4. Jiménez, in *Biologia Español*, p. 101, n. 1, citing Sahagún, III, l. 2, Chimalpahin mistakenly as *chiahuitl*. See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II—*The Conquerors*, p. 68.

5. Pictorial representation from Mgr. Angel María Garibay and Byron Mackie, Mex., 1954: "Y a este le hacían en cuerpo con bledos, con flores de chiahuitl (*Argemone mexicana*, esp. *Lehmanni*). Es un armado de cuerpo de persona; es el armado de Huitzil(opochtli), y el armado de capitán." Three authorities explain: "*Lo* flores chiahuitzol o con 'cuerpo de Huitzil,' porque está formado de palos delgados y cuerpo el dicenmos Opochtli el de la izquierda del armado, que es el sur.—Huitzilopochtli lit. 'cuerpo de colibrí.' La palabra chiahuitl, chiahuitl significa tanto como flores y resistencia, como en la de las dardos. En hello también en el anterior armado. Huitzilli es 'colibrí, esquinas,' y 'cuerpo de esquina' esquina que era el armadillo, o aparato con esqueletillo de cuerpo sujetos o amarradillos en forma de pirámide alargada y truncada. Sobre este armado se ponían los bledos o semillas de huautli, que eran precisamente de la planta dicha. Llamados también huautli, 'bledos de pascua.' Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 68; Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), I, p. 137, or Sahagún (Acosta S. ed.), I, p. 153.

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And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecuyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and members [of men; it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper; it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife at the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

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Auh in ie utlacat, njmā quiquapotonja, yoan quichioa, ixtlā tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaqs-lolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xonopiltic, tlaxonopilnectli, yoā yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatelcujlolli: no itech pilcais moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tēcuxtli yoā icpac conquetza ivitxitzilnaoal: njmā contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vixtic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmā ie ic in tzopololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuex-palli, yoā itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, quimololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj quimoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj quimolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncā icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iollotli, cujtlaxculli eltapach-tli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaqujttli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli tzoncaxilquj, auh injquezpan quimamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaexicujlol'li: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaexicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauh-can tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapan-quj, moteneoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic quiçentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imacpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pil-catica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica sp.?*); on pp. 388-390 he considers seven kinds: four are *Urtica* sp.; others are *Urtica dioica*, var. *angustifolia*: Berroqueleno originally Kocklii Chissy ("quemadora," "ortiga"); and *W. cervantesii* H. B. K. ("ortiga de ciervo adherir"). Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 486, writes of *chichicastle*: "*la ortiga amarilla. . . . La especie principal es la Jatrophia urens L. . . . Es Méjico, planta herbácea, semiarborescente, cubierta en las partes adultas y tronchada*" (*Malpighia dermodactyla*, *Bupatorium dermodactyum*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, mal hombre, mala mujer, quemadora, chichicastillo, duchinole, en Méjico.*" But also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicastli* (*Urtica urentissima* [Imp.] Grieb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *jnic*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 290, has supplied *-maxtli*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the omission is *-maxtli*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *amatl-amatl* is given as "coarse, doubly filmed paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bull's bark amate (*Amate corvigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia acostumbrada por la cual se hace de ahora delante del género bueno. Servía de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de ello para hacer las cobertores, cestillos y otros objetos que el indio de los dioses requería.*"

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called Amaxolli. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had][1] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held sway. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. Text is repeated in the MS.

Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtiapoa in jvic monextoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan quimana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo ococquixtique in itepeioc: auh in izquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececêquetzalo, iuhqujn in iololipã in jlhujtlazque,-in ilhujtlamatizque, injc quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa izztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa nococololoz. Auh in ococenquixoac: njmã ie ic pecalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan nococololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtiocmj: in tetzaqua imoococquauh, in aquin quiçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ococquavitl: auh in aquin maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iuztzel. Auh in aquin çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo-tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic quicujtlavitequj, quimetzvitequj, cacuhujtequj, calitiçpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conjxiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazixtiuh aiac temacnaoati:

cenca icholi tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cenjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiocatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel quiçaia, amo quintzacujliaia: auh in ie izquich telputztintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocolteque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in motenoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no quinextaquaia: quimjlhujaia, vmpa zivi̇ã on nocne, anquimitinia, amo techinto.

[p. 52 is blank]

796 Twentieth Chapter. Here is told how the Span-
● 778 iards[1] slew and destroyed the Mexicans who were celebrating the Feast of Uitzilopochtli in the place called the Temple Courtyard.

Inic cempoalli capitulo: vncā mjtoa in quenjn Espanoles quinmjctique, quinmjxtlatique in Mexica, in quilhuiquiztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli in vncā mjtoaia Teuitoalco.

726 And after this, when already the feast was taking place, all were dancing and singing, and there was song with dance. The song roared.

When now it was time, and the moment was opportune for the Spaniards to slay them, then they issued forth girt for battle; they came to block everywhere the ways leading out and in, [called] Quauhquiauac, Tecpantzinco, Acatl yiacapan, and Tezcacoac.[2] And when they had closed them off and also various [other] places, [the people] were contained, [so that] nowhere could they get out.

And this having been done, they then entered the temple courtyard to slay them. They whose task it was to kill them went only afoot, each with [his] leather shield, some with their iron-studded shields, and each with iron sword. Then they surrounded those who danced whereupon they went among the drums. Then they struck the arms of the one who beat the drums; they severed both his hands, and afterwards struck his neck, [so that] his neck [and head] flew off, falling far away. Then they pierced them all with iron lances, and they struck each with the iron swords. Of some they slashed open the back, and then their entrails gushed out. Of some, they split the head; they hacked their heads to pieces; their heads were completely cut up. And of some they hit the shoulder; they split open and cut their bodies to pieces. Some they struck in the shank; some on the thigh. Of some, they struck the belly, and then their entrails streamed forth. And when one in vain would run, he would only drag his entrails like something raw, as he tried to flee. Nowhere could he go. And one who tried to go out, there they struck and pierced him.

But some climbed the wall, and so succeeded in taking flight. Some entered the various tribal temples, and there escaped. And some eluded [the

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ie ilhujtlamacho, in ie netotilo in ie cujco, in ie cujcoanolo: in cujcatl, iuhqujn xaxamacatimanj.

In ie inmā, in otlainmantic injc temjctizque in Españoles: njman ie ic oalquiça omoiauchichiuhque, ocontzatzaquaco, in jzqujcampa quixoaia, calacoaia, in quauhqujiaoac tecpantzinco, acatl yiacapan, Tezcacoac. Auh in oc̄czatzacque: no izqujcā momanque, aocac vel hoalquiça.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njmā ie ic calaquj in teuitoalco in temjctizque: in intequjuh in temjctique çan tlaxipāvia imecvachimal, cequj intotopchimal, yoan intetepuzmaquauh: njman ie ic quinjacoloa in mjtotia, njmā ie ic vi in vevetitlan, njmā quimavitecque in tlatzotzona oalcocotoa vmextī in jmacpal çatepan quiquechvitecque vecu vetzito in jquech: njmā ie muchintin texixili tepuztopilticu, yoan teviviteque tepuzmaquauhtica: cequintin quincuitlaço. njman valmotoxoa in incujtlaxcol, cequintin quinquatzatzaianque, vel quitzchilique in intzontecon, vel itzelltix in intzōtecō. Auh in cequintin quimaculhujteque, oalcacamatlapan, oaltzatzaian in innacaio: cequintin quincotzviviteque, cequin quinmetzviviteque, cequintin quimjtiviteque, njmā moch oalmotoxoa in incujtlaxcul. Auh in aca oc nen motlalia in jcujtlaxcol, ça quivilana, iuhqujn xaxoquiova in momaquixtiznequj, aoc campa vel huj: auh in aquin quiçaznequj, vmpa quioalhujtequj, quivalxixili.

Auh cequintin, tepantli quitlecavique, tel huel momaquixtilj: cequintin calpulco cacalaque vmpa momaquixtique. Auh in cequintin intlan momaq'a-

1. In the Codex, the date is omitted.

2. There were, respectively, the south gate of the main temple square (see map) to the Tenochtitlan road; the west gate to the Tlatelolco road; and, probably, the north and east gates. — Cline, Sterling anotations.

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter. Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.**

Inje cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtta in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhcj in jquac oquizque Españoles vncan mexico.

796 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had
778 again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put
[237 on them godly capes—the quetzal feather cape,
293] the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oncic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquiztique in Mexica, vncā cenpoaltica. Jn izquich in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujncecencauhque, qujntlaquentique, qujnquequetzallotique, qujncococatique, qujmonaaquique xiuhxaiacatl, yoan qujnquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, qujpaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they
805 also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year—if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Itzcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve—or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmā qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quecholli ic chicōpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemoztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jxcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemoteмj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeualiztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, inje mjcque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Itzcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquijtaquc ce xivitl, ipā matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jxcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacubaa çan onchicoçnjlhujtico: njman iquac vmpolhtine. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiquizque quiualtitlampa itztiequc: çan tequjtl onmjcititiquizque in

1. In the Aztec mode (computation see Müller, op. cit., translation, computation).—Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Girard (Guatemala)).

2. For various translations in Sahagún, op. cit., p. 208.

3. The fifteenth and sixteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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it would be a good thing if it were successful, but it seemed to him that it was not quite a suitable time to speak about it, for Montezuma did not appear to be inclined to do such a thing.

Then our Cortés said to Montezuma through the interpreter Doña Marina: "Your Highness is indeed a very great prince and worthy of even greater things. We are rejoiced to see your cities, and as we are here in your temple, what I now beg as a favour is that you will show us your gods and Teules. Montezuma replied that he must first speak with his high priests, and when he had spoken to them he said that we might enter into a small tower and apartment, a sort of hall, where there were two altars, with very richly carved boardings on the top of the roof. On each altar were two figures, like giants with very tall bodies and very fat, and the first which stood on the right hand they said was the figure of Huichilobos their god of War; it had a very broad face and monstrous and terrible eyes, and the whole of his body was covered with precious stones, and gold and pearls, and with seed pearls stuck on with a paste that they make in this country out of a sort of root, and all the body and head was covered with it, and the body was girdled by great snakes made of gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow and in the other some arrows. And another small idol that stood by him, they said was his page, and he held a short lance and a shield richly decorated with gold and stones. Huichilobos had round his neck some Indians' faces and other things like hearts of Indians, the former made of gold and the latter of silver, with many precious blue stones.

There were some braziers with incense which they call copal, and in them they were burning the hearts of the three Indians whom they had sacrificed that day, and they had made the sacrifice with smoke and copal. All the walls

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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of the oratory were so splashed and encrusted with blood that they were black, the floor was the same and the whole place stank vilely. Then we saw on the other side on the left hand there stood the other great image the same height as Huichilobos, and it had a face like a bear and eyes that shone, made of their mirrors which they call *Tezcat*, and the body plastered with precious stones like that of Huichilobos, for they say that the two are brothers; and this Tezcatepuca was the god of Hell and had charge of the souls of the Mexicans, and his body was girt with figures like little devils with snakes' tails. The walls were so clotted with blood and the soil so bathed with it that in the slaughter houses in Spain there is not such another stench.

They had offered to this Idol five hearts from that day's sacrifices. In the highest part of the Cue there was a recess of which the woodwork was very richly worked, and in it was another image half man and half lizard, with precious stones all over it, and half the body was covered with a mantle. They say that the body of this figure is full of all the seeds that there are in the world, and they say that it is the god of seed time and harvest, but I do not remember its name, and everything was covered with blood, both walls and altar, and the stench was such that we could hardly wait the moment to get out of it.

They had an exceedingly large drum there, and when they beat it the sound of it was so dismal and like, so to say, an instrument of the infernal regions, that one could hear it a distance of two leagues, and they said that the skins it was covered with were those of great snakes. In that small place there were many diabolical things to be seen, bugles and trumpets and knives, and many hearts of Indians that they had burned in fumigating their idols, and everything was so clotted with blood, and there was

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

very important one. The most specific Mexican chronicles call 643
him "coadjutor to the King," "second King," "governor."[210]
By other authorities he is mentioned as "vice-roy,"[211] and more
frequently yet as "supreme judge."[212] Finally, eye-witnesses of
the conquest apply to the "snake-woman" the titles of "keeper
of the tribute"[213] and "captain-general" of the Mexicans.[214]

la asia puesto por succesore y grandeza aquel nuevo dilado que." *Tezozomoc* ("Crónica," cap. XXXIX, p. 80) mentions the title together with the first actions of "wrathy chief," the Elder. But it also appears to have been very much older. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("Relaciones Históricas" *Segunda Relacion*, p. 285, Vol. IX of Kingsborough), speaking of the migrations of the Toltecs says: "llegaron á Xalisco, tierra que estaba cerca de la mar, y aquí estuvieron ocho años, siendo descubridor Zulbeobuatl, tambien uno de los cinco capitanes inferiores." *Pigafetta* (Lib. I, cap. XXII, p. 200) attributes to the same the discovery of another region. It appears as if this title,—whose origin we may speculate upon but, as yet, without any hope of positive results,—was always in existence, but appeared as a distinct office only after the confederacy had been formed. A historical question of some interest looms up here: whether or not the first reported incumbent of the office after the formation of the confederacy, Atempanecatl Tlacaelel'tzin, really existed. *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 171) denies his existence, and perhaps hints at the "Codice Ramirez" when he speaks of "la mala, y falsa Relacion, que de esto hizo, que yo tengo original poder escrita de mano, con el mismo lenguage, y estilo." *Sr. José F. Ramirez* already noticed this folly of the provincial, in note 1 (p. 282) of *Durán*, "*Hist. de las Indias*," etc., and recognized it at once as applying to the Codice R. *Pigafetta* (Lib. II, cap I, p. 88, etc.) acknowledges the existence of Tlacaelel, so does of course *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18), and all those who followed the same sources as the "Codex Ramirez." The present city of Mexico, however, has two monuments which, to my judgment, establish beyond a doubt the existence of this Tlacaelel. One of these is the "Stone of Sacrifice," and the other a commemorative 778
slab, figured and described in No. 2 of Vol. I. "*Anales del Museo Nacional de México*," by the great Mexican scholar, Sr. Orozco y Berra. See my article in No. I, Vol. II of the "*American Antiquarian*," "*The National Museum of Mexico and the Sacrificial Stone*" (pp. 25 and 27).

[210] For these titles I refer in general to the *Codice Ramirez*, *Durán*, and *Tezozomoc*. Quotations are useless and would only serve to increase the size of the volume.

[211] Already *Tezozomoc* mentions him a "teniente." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 344). *Pidoucet* ("Teatro Mexicano," Parte IIa, Trat. IIº, cap. I, p. 209): "Despues del Rey que heredaba, como se ha visto guardando el órden de la sangre real, habia un viray que llamaban Cihuacoatzatl, que el rey proveia y era en segunda persona en el gobierno, de cuya sentencia no habia apelacion al rey."

[212] *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 343). *Pidoucet* ("*Teatro*," p. 209). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 461). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Bk. I, cap. II, p. 29). *H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. II, cap. XIV, pp. 434 and 436). *Codex Mendoza* (Tab. LXIX, "Mixcoatlcihuatlan, *Justicia mayor*").

[213] *Bernal-Diaz del Castillo* ("*Hist. verdadera*, etc.," Cap. XCI, p. 97, Vedia II): "Acordóme que era en aquel tiempo un mayordomo un gran cacique que le pusimos por nombre Tapia, y tenia cuenta de todas las rentas que le traian al Montezuma, con sus libros hechos de papel, que se dice amatl, y tenia destos libros una gran casa dellos." How this "Tapia" reappears again as "governor" of Mexico in different places. "*Relacion de la Jornada que hizo Don Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli, Cacique y Señor Natural que fué del pueblo de Tlahuacuilco*" ("Col. de Documentos." Icazbalceta, p. 288, Vol. II): "y á estos los Mexicanos llevó, y fueron por sus caudillos Tapia y D. Martin el de Tlacubaba." "*Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*" (Col. de Doc. II, p. 471): "Viendo el señor desta ciudad de México, que se llama Tapia." *Letter of the "Señores" Salamanca, Maldonado, Cigaroa, and Quiroga*

X 787 **Eighth Chapter**, which telleth of the fifth sign, named One Reed. And it was not a good day, [nor] those with it. It was said that those born then, if they were born in the ninth hours, named Nine Crocodile—they said and it was averred that one would be a slanderer and bearer of false witness. And it was thought that this sign was the day of Quetzalcoatl. Therefore the lords and noblemen then paid their devotions and made offerings.

Ixic chicuasi cujtonlo: itechpa tlatoa, ixic macujltetl machiotl, in jnoca ce acatl: zuh ueo qualli tonalli in jtech ca, quijmach in aquiquac vncan tlacatia, intla vncan tlacatia, ixic chicuacuhtiuetl calli, in jnoca chicuuevi cipactli: quimaia quijmach ceuca techicoiuanj, ioan teoiaquavinj: zuh quijmach ixiu machiotl, ithuatl inneal in quetzalcoatl: ipampa in tlatoque, in pipiltj, vncan mottiaia ioan tlamaxaia.

1787 The day sign One Reed set in. With it were reckoned the evil days, those of an unfavorable time. Following it came Two Ocelot, and Three Eagle, Four Vulture, Five Motion, and Six Flint Knife. These various days were said to be evil, of an unfavorable time.

Moquetza ce acatl tonalli, ic mocempoa in ueo quallj, in ueo iecxan inquijhuiztj,

quioquijlioca yn jpan vme ocelotl, ioan ei quauhtli, navi cuecuepaniztli, macujlli olin, chiquacen teopetl: in jnquijxtl in tonalli mjmiaia ueo qualli, ueo iecxan,

X 787 It was held that One Reed was the day sign, the time, of Quetzalcoatl. For Quetzalcoatl represented the wind, and was therefore thought a god. And 771 when the day One Reed set in, the lords and noble- ● 778 men paid him great honors. They made offerings at the priests' house in the [barrio] known as Mexico.[1] 772 For there was kept the image of Quetzalcoatl. Before him they arranged and spread offerings. Everything they then prepared for him. They placed on him his various array and paper vestments. And before him they laid out flowers, tobacco, [vessels] full of incense, and drink and food. So they said that then they dedicated and assigned the day sign to Quetzalcoatl.

quijmach ineual ceuca itonalpan in quetzalcoatl. lehhica in quetzalcoatl, i ehecatl ipan mjtoaia, ixic teviteuia: zuh in jquac in mocuetzaia ce acatl tonalli, ceuca tlamoviztlilaia in tlatoque, in pipiltj, tlamaxaia in calmecac, yn jtocaiocan mexico, ca vncan pialoia in jxiptla Quetzalcoatl, ixpan quijtaxcopijlaia, quijtlanilhuacaia zuuch iquac quijcencuililoia, itech quijtlalilloia, in jxquijtlamantli inechichioal, yn iamatlapoj, ioan ixpan quijxcopijlaia zuchitl, yetl, qujcopalbamjlaia atl, tlaquall, qujmanjlia, zuh quitoaia vncan quijmaltia, qujxnalquechia in Quetzalcoatl.

X 787 And so they said it was an unfortunate time. He who was then born, whether nobleman or commoner, was of scant merit or deserts. Just as worthless as the wind was his life: It was swept away by the wind. As nothing were his lineage and origin. For in the time of Quetzalcoatl the wind [god] had he been born; for such was his nature. The same befell her if it was a woman.

Auh ixic mjtoa: ueo iecxan, in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, anoço macoxalli, aole ceuca iuhcoxal, ihuiil catca, çan iuhquin ehecatl ipil povia inemilio, ihcuacoia, aole itlaneca, inthlonio mochiuia: ipampa in jtecuilpan quetzalcoatl, ihcatl otlacat, ca njman iuhcan oquiz, no iuhquj ipan mochiuia, intla çioatl,

1. The reference, known all probably [illegible], is defined as "Lugar de donde da el aire" y morada de nahuales" by Antonio Montufar in El culpabilidad en la organización social de los mexicanos (Publicaciones Anuarios de Hidalgo, 1949), p. 77. There were six, in the order indicated, probably pertaining to those (or the same as used by Montufar): Tepitoton, Huitznahuac, Tlamatzinco, Tlillancalco, Tecpancalco, and Mixcoac (pp. 47-52).

X-787 Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the seventh sign, named One Rain, and of the evil day signs which belonged with it. They said that those then born were sorcerers and soothsayers and demons. — And *tlacatecolotl* meaneth demon. — Almost all the houses belonging to this [sign] were evil and unfavorable. Only the thirteenth was good.[1]

Injc matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc chicoxtetl machiotl, in jtoca ce qujavitl: ioan in ixmo quall: tonalli, in jtech catca: quilmach in aquiçque vncan tlacatia, nanaoalti catca, ioan tetlachivianj, tlatlacatecolo: auh in tlacatecolotl, ca ichoutl quitouaquj in Diablo, achi mochi in calli itech pouhquj, in ixmo qualli, in ixmo iectli: çanjo inic matlactetl vney qualli.

X-787 One Rain set in, of which it was said that it was in no way a good day sign. It was full of evil, vice, misery, orphanhood, affliction, suffering, anguish, misfortune, and indigence.

X-787 This was because during the time of this day sign, 776 so it was said, then descended those known as the Goddesses, inhuman ones, mockers of the people. Hence most sternly [parents] commanded their children not to go out; not to travel along the roads. They should only remain at home. Thus did they speak to them: "Go not forth. You will encounter the Princesses, for they descend and arrive upon earth." Hence the fathers regarded them with fear, lest one of [the children] might develop misshapen lips, or crossed eyes, or a hare lip, or be poxmarked.

Moquetza ce quiauitl: injn mjtoaia, njman ixmo qualli tonalli, motoquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, icnoiotl, icnotlacaiotl, tlaciaujlistli, tlacoçcavilistli, teopouhcaiotl, atle onquiçaliztli, atle oneoatinemjliztli:

ipampa in jpan, y, tonalli, iuh mjtoa: ca vncan temoia, in motenteoa cioateteo, itlaoacemelleque, teca mocaiaoanj: ic cenca quintlaquauhnaoatiaia, in tepilhoan, in aiac quiçaz, aiac vtli quitocaz: çan calicnoaque: iuh quinjlhujaia maca xonquiçaca, anmotenamictiaque, ca temo, ca tlalpan aci in çioapipilti: ic quintlamauhcaittiliaia in tetaoan: injc ixmo ica temecujlivia, ixnecujliuja, tenpatziuja, itech qujneua:

778 When this [day came], everywhere in the Goddesses' sanctuaries and temples — everywhere offerings were made. For in every single place stood a temple of Goddesses, in each neighborhood,[2] there at crossroads. They covered with white streamers each of the images which were there — five [figures] of stone, placed in a row, their faces rubbed and painted with liquid rubber. He who made a vow to them covered them at the time of their descent, at the time of their day count, on the day sign of their descent. As many of them as there were he covered with white paper streamers.

782 in jquac in, in noviian çioteteupan, çioatecalli, noujian tlamaoalolo, ca noviian cecentetl mâo, in çioatecalli, cecentlaxillacalpâ vncan in omoxac, teteujtl qujmonequequentia, in vmpa catca, ymjxipeloan, macujlteme in teme, tecpantoca, tlaolxaoalti, mocoxauhque in aquja ivicpa mocnecoltiaia, quintlaquentia yn jquac in intemoia, yn jntlapoalpan, in jpan tonalli temoia, inqujteme amatetecujtl quinquentia.

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1. The Spanish text reads, in part: "*Los que en este signo nacen, son nigromanticos, brujos, hechizeros, ensalpadores. Es de notar, que este caracter Acatlacolotl, significa entre ellos diablo, nigromantico, o brujo: significandose en uno, por diablo: casi todos los demas dentro signos: eran de mala disposicion. Pero la decimo tercia, y la novena decimo cuna, entendiendose el todos los signos: eran felices.*" See Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book XII, "The Conquest of Mexico," p. 21, nn. 1, 2, 3, on *acatl*, *tlacatecolotl*, and *tetlachivianj*. Depending upon the contest, we have at times translated *tlacatecolotl* as demon.

2. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," p. 50, n. 13.

was not hopeless. This one the readers of the day signs then sought out so that they might then somewhat better the day sign of the one born on One Grass.

And the day sign Two Reed, which followed, they said was a very good day sign; because also at that time they honored Tezcatlipoca Titlacauan by placing the image of [a god] called Omacatl. In the same manner [as Tezcatlipoca][4] was the face painted; they ornamented it when they placed it.

And whosoever wished to place the image of Omacatl guarded it in his house for two hundred [days]. He placed it on the day sign Two Reed. And if he who placed it did something well, that is, if now his goods and possessions increased and appeared, no more did he wish to relinquish it. He just placed and introduced it permanently into his house, and guarded it for a long time.

And if now he wished to abandon it, and no longer to guard it, he likewise abandoned it on the day sign Two Reed. This same one chose his day sign; on [the day sign] in which he had placed it, on it likewise he abandoned it. He left it there at his temple in the tribal district of Omacatl, and went offering it incense. And there, to take it, would go he who earlier had wished to guard it in his home. The old men of the tribal district accompanied it with song; the [new] householder served food to the people; there was feasting and drinking in his home. And when it grew dark there was drunkenness. In the same way was the placing and termination. Then was the breaking off and the finishing; then they observed the two hundred days of guarding it in one's home when [the image] entered as well as when it left.

And, it was said, he who was then born, they said, would become rich and wealthy. And well would he gain his livelihood. What he might do would not fail. He would find his consolation.

And on Four Eagle, and Five Vultures, and Six Monkeys, on it was said, these various day signs were in no way good. They were always as hath been said. For him who was then born, his fate, his gifts, were the same: misery. He lived given to talking; he would bear false witness; accusations were made; there were outcries; among others he lived in vice, corruption, and evil, as hath already in many places

Auh in quitoquilia, vmc acatl tonalli quitoaia vel qualli in tonalli: ipampa ca no vncan quitocaltiaia yn Tezcatlipoca, titlacaoa, inic quitlaliaia ixiptla itoca Omacatl: çan no ivi in mjchioaia, ic quichichioaia, inic quitlaliaia:

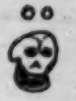
auh in aquin quinequja, quitlaliaia in ixiptla Omacatl, matlacpoaltica in quipiaia ychan, ipan in quitlaliaia, vmc acatl tonalli, auh intla ic itla vel maaiia, in aquin oquitlali, quitoznequj: intla ic tlapiuja, ixneçi, ixaca itlatquj, aocmo quicaoaliztlamatia, çan quicentlaliaia, quicencalaqujaia in jchan, vecaltica quipiaia:

auh intla ic oquinec in quicaoaz, in aocmo quipiaz: çan no ipan in quicaoaia vme acatl tonalli, çan iec quimattiuja in jtonal, ipan in quitlaliaia, no ipan in quicaoaia: vmpa concaoaia in jtzupan, in jcalpulco omacatl, quitlenamaquiltiuh: auh vmpa canatiuh, in aquin oc ic oquinec, quipiaz ichan, quicuicatiaia in calpuleque, ic tetlatlaqualtia in chane, tlatlaqualo, astlioa, yn jchan: auh in oiooac tlatlaoano, çan ic iuh tlatlahili, çan ic iuh tlatecolli, çan vncan tectica, çan ic vncan tlantica, çan ic vncan quimattiaia, in matlacpoaltica pialoia techan iquac calaquja, no iquac quicaia:

auh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, quitoaia mocujltonoz, motlacamatiz, ioan vel muchioaz in jnetlacoltiliz, in tlein maaiiliz, amo nenquicaz, vel quittaz in jnciollalliliz.

Auh yn ipan nauj quauhtli, yoan macujlli ecacquauhtli, yoan chiquacen olin, iuh mjtoa: njman amo tle qualli in jequjtetl yn, tonalli, çan muchipa iuh mjtoa: in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan yez in jlhuil, inemac in netolinjliztli, yoan tlatolli coiolhujtinemj, tetlatolevia, yoan tlatolevilo, oiovilo, tenepantla quitlalitinemj in xiuhtli, cujtlatl, in aquallí: in juhquj ye mjiecan omoteneuh. Auh in oc nen ic quiqualtiliaia

4. At this place in the Real Palacio MS a malignant scrawl in Sahagún's hand reads: "de la ceremonia de la yma[gen] de Tezcatlipoca."



000 **Nineteenth Chapter.** Here are told the offerings which they made for the sake of those who traveled to far places, and how respect was paid for the sake of those who died.

Injc caxtolli vnnavi capitulo: vncan motenco, in ventli in quichioaia, im inpãpa vecanemja ioan injc mextlaoaia in jpampa in mjquja.

441 And his household thereupon began the penances. 981 They let themselves become dirty. No longer did 585 they wash their heads with soap, though they could bathe their bodies. Nevertheless, no more did they submerge in water. But every eighty days they arranged the washing of heads with soap. Thus they showed and made it known that they did penance for the sake of their children, their young men, who were still absent. All the time they thus went about doing, however long he was gone.

Auh in jchantlaca: njmen iquac conpeoaltia in tlamaçeoaia, motzoioatia, aocmo mãmovia, tel vel maltia yn jntlacapa, iece, aocmo polaquj: auh nanapoaltica qujmattiuj, in mamovitiuj: injc quinextia, quitemachitia, ca ipampa tlamãçeoa in jaconeuh, in jntelpuch, in oqu jxcauhque, inquijch cauitl iuh quichiuhtinemj, in jquin quiçaqujuh:

441 And if, perchance, he had gone to die, first were 765 notified the old merchants. Their task was to inform and break the news to the people. These introduced a time of mourning into the home of the deceased. Thus they made it known that during four days there would be remembrances; his household would mourn. So they would be visited and consoled, and there would be a burial ritual[1] for their child.

auh intla noce omjquito, ichoan achto caqujtilo, in puchteca veuetque, intequjuh in teiolmelaoaxque, in teiolpachiujtinque, ichoantin quicalaquja in choqujztli, in jxaiotl, in jchan omjquito, ic quitemachitia, injc nauilhujtl ilnamjcoz, mjccaoatinque in jchantlaca, injc tlapalolozque, ellaquaoalozque, quimjlolox in inconeuh:

[515] And when four days had gone by, then his household washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said, the deceased was bathed; and thereby they destroyed and banished their grief.

auh in oquje navilhujtl: iquac mamovia in jchantlaca: ic mjtoa, momjccaaltia injc compopoloa, conjlcaoa intlaccol:

441 And if somewhere he had died in battle, they set 765 up an image of him made of pine torches bound ● 778 together.[2] They made and formed his image; they adorned his likeness. This *cuillotl* was only a statue of pine logs which they split into sections and afterwards bound together. And they placed upon it all the paper ornaments, the paper array, the paper jacket, the paper neck-band, the paper stole. They piled up, strewed about it, and distributed them so that they would burn all of them with it. When this was done, when they had adorned the statue, when the one dead in battle had been wept, one more day

auh intla cana oiaomjc, qujtlalizia ieujllo, quequjllotia, quequjllotlalilia, ixiptla quichichiujlia, inja Evillotl: çan ocoquavitl in quitzatzaianaia, çatepan quicuitlalpia: auh inquich itech quitlalia, in amatlaqujtl, in amanechichicalli, in amaxicolli, in amacozcatl, in amanecapantli, quitlaolololtia, quitlatepeoaltia quitlamamaca, injc nochi ioan quitlatinque: in ic iuhquj in oquicencauhque evillotl, in jquac ic choqujlloz oiaomjc, oc cemjlhujtica, in jeujllo icalpulco, cemjlhujtl in ca, cemjlhujtl in eostica: auh quinjquac in ioalnepantla, quiclatizia, vmpa in quiocaotiaia, tevitoalco, quauhxicalco, tzompanco:

1. *Quinçaqujuh*: possibly this refers to wrapping of the dead or clothing of a statue.
2. *Evillotl*: Corresponding Spanish text: "*su semeiança de tea, cruzes unas, con otras.*"

his statue spent in his tribal district [temple]. One day it was [there]; one day it remained seated. And then, when it was midnight, they burned it there in [the place] which they called the god's courtyard, at the eagle vessel, [or] on the skull rack.

But if the merchant had only died on the ground[3] — that is to say, if he had not died in battle, if perchance he had only taken sick, in the very same way they prepared his statue, but only in his home did it burn — not at midnight: while yet there shone a little sun, when he already was turning on his left side,[4] when the sun hung low, they burned it.

Likewise it was said that at the time of the day sign One Serpent, if it was established precisely at that time, when war was declared and proclaimed among the people, when, it was said, war was announced, at that very time the war began. At that time all the eagle and ocelot warriors set out to battle; all followed, crowded, and filled the road. They arose, they set out, departed, marched, and hastened.

And if one were born upon the day sign One [Serpent],[5] they said, the readers of the day signs corrected it and bestowed gifts upon him. He would become a receiver of favors, worthy of good deserts and merit; he would prosper and have sustenance. But if he did not do his penances well, according to his day sign, his gifts and favors would not come upon him. He himself would harm and destroy it. It was said that by his own act he neglected it and destroyed it by vice, etc.

He who was then born they did not yet bathe; they bathed him later, on Three Deer, and then gave him a name, for the reason already many times told: the day sign of the third place, when they waited for the day, the readers of day signs considered favorable. So they took this following one for him; this time they arranged and postponed it in order to give him a very strong day sign.

And Two Death, which followed, so they said, was evil; at this time there was nothing of merit. But Three Deer, so they said, was a good day sign; this is already related. The third place was always a good time; it was a time of attainment of merit, as the readers of day signs told one. And Four

auh intla çā otlalnjc oxtomocatl, quiuuexequj: intlacamo oiaomjc, in aço çan ococolliccujc, çan ie no ivi in quichichioaia icujllo, iece çan ichaa in tlatlaia, amo ioalnepantla, oc achi tonatiuh, iquac in ie onmotzcaloa, onmopiloa tonatiuh quiztlatiaia.

No ioan mjtoa: in iquac ypan in ce cozti tonalli, intla ipanti, ipan motlalia, in iquac oiaotlatoloc, oteiaotlalhujloc, in omjto, in otecaqujtiloc inciotl, vel iqua ipan vāpeoaia in iaoc: vncan iaoquiaoaia, ipan otlatocoia, ipan vnneotemaloia, vnmotema, onmacocuj, onmolinja, eoa, nēnemj, icxiconoa, in jxquich quauhtlocelotl:

auh in aquin ipan otlacat ce ocelotl tonalli, quj-toaia, quipōtlaia, quinemactiaia in tonalpouhque, tlacnopilhujanj, illujic, mācoaie muchioa, mocujl-teoa, vnca quiquanj iez: auh intlaca mouelhuaca-coa, in iuhquj itonal in, amo ipan muchioa in jne-mac, in jcnopil: çan ichoatl quimitlacalhuja, quimo-popolhuja, mjtoa: ineviian conmocuujlia, quimotla-çohmjctilia. Er.

yn aquin ipā otlacat in, xiuuo caltiaia, quin ipā caltiaia in Ey macatl: iquac quitocamaca, ipampa in mjcocan omjto: in eiiiuuian tonalli, in jquac tlacen-illuujcilitia, quipoalitaia in tonalpouhque: ithuatl in conthatotoquiliaia, vmpa quiolaxequjxtaia, vmpa con-tlachieltiaia, inje cenca quitonalchicaoaia.

Auh in quitoquilia, vnc mjqujztli, iuh quitoa: amo qualli, ale vncā ca mahuelli. Auh in ey macatl: iuh quitoa qualli tonalli, ie omjto: in eiiiuuia muchipa qualcaa, vnaxa ca tlacnopilhujiztli in iuh quitcilhujxia tonalpouhque. Auh in nevi techtli, in tlanauhcuiztia tonalli, in nauhuiopa tlavica, tlacen-

3. Olivalmic: Ibid., "Y si el tal mercador muria, de su enfermedad."
4. Molina, op. cit. (Spanish-Nahuatl), Lado derecho.
5. The text reads ce ocelotl; it is correct in the Real Palacio MS.

X 787 Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of the tenth
776 sign, called One Flint Knife. And it was said that it
was of good fortune, and claimed that those then
born were brave and became seasoned warriors. And
it was said that the women then born were forceful;
they were able in all things and made their goods
very well. And it was said to be the day sign of
Uitzilopochtli, to whom it was dedicated. His
domain was war. It was said also to be the day sign
of Camaxtli. And when this sign began, they ob-
served the feast [of Uitzilopochtli]. And it was said
that all the day signs were good — [all] thirteen.

Injc composalli ece cxpōuia: itechpa tlatoa, injc
matlactli machiotl, in jtoca ce tecpatl: ioan qujl
qualli in jtonalliz, auh qujl in aquiqque vncan tlacatia
chicuacque catca, ioan tequjoacatia: auh qujl in cioa
vncan tlacatia ocquichtlilloque catca, machi in veli
catca, ceuca uel qujcentlaia in jatlatequj: auh qujl
itonal catca in Vitzilopochtli, in jtech pouhquj catca,
in jnequjuh catca itaxiotl, qujl no itonal in Camaxtle:
auh in jquac vmpeoaia inija machiotl, qujlhuiqujxtli-
lloia, auh qujl machi qualli catca in jaquiJhuiJtl, ma-
tlaquiJhuiJtl vmei.

776 One Flint Knife set in. On this One Flint Knife,
782 when it turned for a day, they then made offerings
to Uitzilopochtli, whose day sign it was, and to Ca-
maxtli, god of the Uexotzinca.

Moquetza ce tecpatl: inin ce tecpatl, in jquac tla-
cemilhuiJtilloia, vncan quiJcualtiloia, ytonalpan catca
in Vitzilopochtli, ioan in camaxtle, vexotzinca in-
teouh,

776 Then it is said they made offerings and paid great
782 honor [to Uitzilopochtli] there at his temple, in his
tribal district, at the place whose name was Tlaca-
xcuca. There was his image guarded, and all his
● 776 array. They had it all spread out before him and
laid in the sun; they offered incense and presented
him[1] what were called the quetzal feather cape, the
blue cotinga feather cape, the red spoonbill feather
cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the hum-
[828] ming bird feather cape.[2] But only after them came
that the no longer very precious feathers, like the
white heron feather cape or the reed thrush feather
cape.[3] Severally they laid all of them down, offered
them separately, arranged them in rows, placed them
in order, etc.

injc mjeua: quiJcualtiloia, ceuca quima-xiztililoia, in
vncan ieuipan icalpulco in jtocaiocan catca tlaca-
xcuca, vncan picloia in jxiptla in jxquich itlaquj,
much ixpan quiJcequiJlloia, quiJcotonjaia, quiJclema-
quiJlloia quiJtacotonjiloia, in motzeuca quetzalque-
mjtl, xiuhtotoquemjtl, tlauhquecholquemjtl, tozque-
mjtl, vixiztilquemjtl, auh ça quiJcequiJlia, quiJxacuja,
in aocmo ceuca tlaçaxitl, in iuhquj aztaquemjtl, tza-
quemjtl: machi nauiquac quiJccaia, quiJlatla-
mantilia, quiJcecuentilia, quiJvitipana. Ee[4].

And all these precious capes, when they spread
them out, remained there a day. By doing this, it
782 was said, they summed them for Uitzilopochtli. And
there offerings were made; there they laid out all the
gifts, called fine foods. And all the good, prepared

auh much ie in tlaçotlmatli ipan quiJccaia, vncan
ceuiJhuiJtia: iehoatl injc mjeua quiJtacotonjilia in
Vitzilopochtli, ioan vncan tlamaxaloia, vncan quiJc-
caia in jxquich veutli, in motzeuca tlacatlaquilli:
ioan in jxquich iectli, in tlachichioalli tlaquilli, in

1. QuiJcotonjiloia ohuaxolotly could mean "they beheaded quail for him."

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "unos a manera quetzalpenacho, que quieren decir: capa de quetzales verdes, y resplandecientes: otro a manera chalchiuspenacho, que quiere decir: capa de piedras verdes, y respladecientes: otro a manera tozpenacho, que quiere decir: capa de plumas amarillas, y respladecientes: otro a manera vitzitzilpenacho, que quiere decir: capa de plumas resplandecientes de colores."

3. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 233. In ibid., p. 160, n. 2, it is published.

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the four-
779 teenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was
776 a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the
666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxicoxtica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc ompoualli on macuilli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcuintli: inin quiltonoch qualli tonalli, ioan quil itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in quinoaia Tlalxicoxtica, cenca vei illuijtl quichioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaahtiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they
said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi-
776 cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli.
They formed his image there in his temple. There
● 778 they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated
782 quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] neutlamili. All the food [and array of] Tlalxicoxtica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, oc itzcuintli: inin quitoaia qualli tonalli, vncan quiconaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: quichiliuia yxiptla in vmpa itzcopan: vncan quitlamanjliuia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, quichichioa, quiocencaoa, in jxquich amatlequjtl, inmac iccuuja in motencoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, quiviocuia, quivitzcuia, quinepapanjviiotia, tlaçoiujtica quinepapanivitzcuiloa: ioan quichachalchiuhiotia, quiocaiotia nextlacalli, itlaqual in tlalxicoxtica, much ixpan quitlatiuia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich
and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and
Amantlan,[4] they made [the god] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It caused that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They spattered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

suh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujhtonoloia, in puchtlan, in amantlan: cenca quivelchioaia injc quimaviztiliuia, tlatlaqualoia, astiloia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujzcalpan in quitlatiuia amatl, in mjtoa ic quithuaca tletl, quivicatiuh, quimcatiuh in copalli, cecen petlacalli, ova petlacalli in coztepeca tleco, chipaoac, ietac copalli: ioan quinconona çoçohtin, iuhquja tlecujlixquac tlâpatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoa, tlalli ic neujnjeco tlecujlixquac quitzinzicujtza, quinonoquja in jmeztço: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac quitoaiaoa in vcxli: suh çatepan tlecujlocaaco nauhcampaieti quivecaoa:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Este decimo: era el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o Tlalxicoxtica."
2. Ibid.: "Los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica. Asimismo la fiesta de su eleccion."
3. Ibid.: "cosas de la mesticua, pertenecian los oficiales de papel, y vegal. Decimos: que eran estas cosas, dando de comer al fuego."
4. Motolinia, op. cit., pp. 70, 91, 93: subpatli of manchineel, leather workers, etc.

X 787 Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of the seventeenth sign, called One Water. It was said to be an evil day sign. And it was said of those then born that they rejoiced a little only at the beginning of their lives, and that they ended in evil. And it was said always to be evil when they died. And it was said to be the day sign of Chalchiuitl icue, whose feast day the water folk observed.

Inic cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, inic centolli omome machiotl, in jtoca ce atl: quiimach amo qualli tonalli: auh quil in aquiqueh vncan tlacatia, çan ipeuhian in jnnemjliz achi paquja: auh injc tzonquiçaia amo qualli, auh quiimach mochipa, amo qualli, injc mjquja: auh quil itonal catca in chalchiujtl icue, quilhuiquiztiliaia in atlaca.

One Water. This One Water, they said, was also evil. And they said it was quite varied, of different qualities, all good or all bad.

Ce atl: injn ce atl: quitoa, amono qualli: yoan quitoa, çan chictlapantli, chictlapantica: inquich qualli, inquich amo qualli:

787 At this time they made offerings to the one named Chalchiuhtli icue, who represented the water. Especially did the sellers of water, the owners of boats — 776 those who transported water with boats — and 778 those who launched boats, made offerings to her. These formed her image; they set in place the framework [for her image] at her temple, in her tribal district.

vncan quitonaltiaia: in jtoca chalchiuhtli ycue, in jpan mjecoaia atl: oc cenca ichoan quitlamanjliaia, yn anamacaque, in acaleque, acaltica atlacuj, yoan acalquetzque: ichoan quiiiptlatiaia quitlaliaia ycoleio in jtecpan, in jcalpulco.

X 787 And thus was it said to be diverse [in fortune], one which could not attain and carry with it very much good. That is to say, of the one then born, very few resulted great and fortunate at this time. For according to his deserts, his day sign, he was only all evil, completely surrounded by vice. And in evil he would go; in it he would die. Perchance somewhere he would be stoned — he would be felled by a stone; or else he would be drowned — he would perish in the water.

Auh injc mjtoa çan chictlapanquj yn amo vel macitica motquitica ic qualli, quitoznequi in aquin ipan tlacatia, çan vel quiçaia cenca çan aca in vncan quiçaia tlacnopilhuiani, ca in juh ca vel inmaceoal, itonal çan muchi ĥqualli in cololotica motquitica teuhtli, tlaçolli, auh amo qualli ynjc iaz, inic miquiz, aço çan cana tetepachoton, tetica uetziz, anoço, atocoz, atlan mjquiz,

But even if, on the other hand,[1] he merited some reward, only for a miserable moment, only for a short time, a very short time, and frequently for a brief space, a moment, for a time only, would he partake of his riches.[2] So of him were said the words of the talkative inhabitants, that in the world there are bad days. Sometimes one succeeded; sometimes one failed; if, in his childhood, he should suffer

auh intla çā noço itla imacteoltiz, çā cotocpol, çan cuel achic, can cuecuel achic, çan achica, çan achitonca, çā achizinca, çan inquich cauitl in, in jxpan onquiçaa in jnecujltonol, ic ipā mjtoa, in jntlatol tlahtcpac tlathananj, çan tatacapitz uel in tlahtcpac, quihnan veli, quemman veli, intla ipiltian motolinitz, quin itzonco in achi motollaliz:

1. *Intla ça noço*: Bierhorst, *op. cit.*, has *and* (although, yet) *or* quizás (as you will) *for* intla noço, *and* noço (and not) *for* noço.

2. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y si alguna buena suerte tenia. Aunque pocos duraua. los grandes si nacian de mucha*

X 787 754 And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[6]

auh in ipan tepoloaia, vncan quimattiuja in aquilli tonalli, ichaual contonoaia, conhuetzquiquiliaia, quiioa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcuintli, anoço chicunauj mjquiztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ic muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cequj motenecu aquilli tonalli, in jzquican omoteneuh,

X 787 And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

auh in iuh quexquican omjto, in aquin inhquj in itequjuh, itetequjuh muchioa, quimoteuiquilia, aic auja, atle quiquanj, çan motolinjtinemj, aoccatinemj, ãcan ichã, ãcan chanca, amo chane caca, acan chantlamattica: acan chane ca tlamattica, çan icnoiotl quiçutinemj, çan ic conquistiuh, çan ic ommotlamjtiuh, iuhtã cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquevilo: ãnoce esser xrtioa in jquac ie otlatlaxiujti, ie ontlaxujti, ie otlaclatzilhuj, vncan ano. quiçaoocuj, quiçtleiocuilia, quiçtonalitlaco: ic ça temac omtomjquiçacaoa:

X 787 754 [778] 674 And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

auh in ichoantin motenecu, temamacpalivoque, tepupuxaquauiquc, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaquixtinque, quichichioaia in jxiptla oc hecatl: quinacantiuja iniacac, imjxpan icatiuja. ioan quiçtequjçiuj in jmacpal moçioaquetzquj, in iti ic iauh in axcl mjxiuj iquac quicuiliaia in quin onmjquj. çan oquichteccacuja, icaltica in quitequiliaia, iooalli itic.

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

auh injc quitocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in ael omaxac contoca, quiocalititiuj, ipan necalioatiuh, coiovitiuj injc quiçuja: auh injc quiçoalquixtia ichan, amo itcopa in jcal, çan quicnitlacoionja in calli, vmpa quiçquixtia injc concaoa vmaxac:

6. Omitted in the *Real Palacio* MS.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*mugeres publicas, o por otro nombre mançebas o rameras.*"

8. *Ibid.*: "*Un braço desde el codo, hasta la mano, de alguna muger, que estuuo muerta, del primer parto. Los mexicanos, o barro, el braço que quitaron.*" Sahagún, *loc. cit.*, describes hypocritical "who kneeling on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed, used the entire household into a pandemonium and unbearable uproar, and these plunder with impunity the whole house and entertain every possible lechery upon its departure."

Thirty-third Chapter, in which is mentioned the nineteenth sign, named One Eagle. It was said to be an evil day sign, and he who was then born was boastful, and brave, daring, fearing nothing and no one. And it was said that the women also were daring, of ill fame, of evil tongue, shameless, and immodest. And it was said that at this time descended the lesser Goddesses; and they did evil to the small children. Hence they did not let them go out of doors, nor did they bathe them at that time.[1]

Inic cēpoalli ōmatlactli vnney capitulo: vncan motenehua ynic cxxtolli vnnavi machiotl, yn itoca ce quauhtli: quil amo qualli in tonalli, auh in ipan tlacatia, mochachamauanj, yoā chicaoque, aiac ixco tlachia, atle ypan tlatta, atle ypā teitta: yoan quil in cihua, amo tle ypā tlachia, yoan cenca tlavilquixtianj, tentlavelilloque, ixquauhti, amo pinsouanj: auh quil yn iquac, oalcemoia yn aquique tepitoton cihuateteu: auh quintlaueliaia in conetotonti, yc amo quinoalquixtiaia in qujiaoac, amono quimaltiaia yn iquac.

787 X

—One Eagle. This One Eagle, it was said, was an evil day sign. Also at that time descended those named the "Goddesses." It was said, and it was so stated, that they were only the youngest ones, only the sisters,[2] who then came down. Nevertheless, [the people] took great fright, because it was said that they were very harmful, furious, hateful, hostile, and merciless. As they could not be resisted, so they made sport of people, as is told in various places and mentioned here and now. None of the small children might go naked. They were carefully watched, because at this time they might be violently possessed, their lips twisted and withered, their eyes crossed and cloudy, their noses crooked, etc.

In ce quauhtli: ynjn ce quauhtli, mjtoa amo qualli tonalli, no vncan temoia, in quintocaiotia cihuateteu, quilmach yn juh onmjtoa ça zoxocoio, ça teiccaoan yn vncan temoia, iece cenca vellamaubtiaia, ypampa quil cenca ihjioque, tlavelioque, tetlavelique, amo ellelcauhque, amo icnoonque, njman aixnamjquizti, ynjc teca maviltianj, yn juh onmjto quezquican: yn juh conitoa in iquac hin, njmā aiac vel petlauhtinenca in pipiltotōti, cenca malhujoia, ypampa cenca tlaquauh vncan tetech quinecuia, tennecujlooaia, temptzinooaia, ixnecujlooaia, ixcatzinooaia, ixcanecuilooaia. etc.

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And therefore they paid them great honor there in the places where they were awaited, there in the different Goddesses' temples. In each neighborhood, in the house clusters and their vicinities, reeds were strewn and scattered; sand was sprinkled on the roads and at street crossings and crossroads—places where roads came together.

auh injc cenca qujnmavixtiliaia in vncan inchielpā yn izquiçi cicihuateucalco, in tlatlatzilacalpā, tetlatlaxilacalloc, tetlatlatzilacaltian, tōtoltecaciolo, tlatoltezcatzololo, tlaizalhujlo yn vtlica, yn vmatzac, yn inepanivjian vtli.

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One who made a vow to them that he would cover and wrap them, adorned their offerings, the paper banners of the Goddesses painted and spattered with liquid rubber. There he covered the different images of the Goddesses, as they were arranged in order. It was at midnight, just at the dividing of the night, that the making of offerings

Jn aqujn invicpa monetoltia: in qujnquentia qujntlaquentia, qujnchichivilia yn jmentlacal, in cihuateuitl amatl, tlacolzacalli, oalpeioac, vmpa qujmoquequentia yn inqujteme, tecpantoque, yn iniixiptlaon iooalnepantla, çan jc omellivi, iooalli in poot tlamanilio, auh iquac mocaoa yic nepanoa tonatiuh, yic tlaqualtpā auh in aquin amo qujntlaquentia, çan

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "Ne fue diuersion alle de otra, ni hablaron, ni tuuieron que otro dijese vsyngunas."

2. Reference: see "Manuscript-text no. 3 [unknown]," p. 212.

796 mountains. Those who were there watching then
372 raised a cry which rose to the heavens with joy that the world was not ending and that they had another fifty-two years assured.

The last ceremony of new fire which they held was in the year 1507. They held it with full solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land. In the year 1559 ended the next bundle of years, which they call Toximmolpilia. On this occasion they held no public ceremony, because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land. So that this year, 1576, is the fifteenth of the current bundle of years.

796 When they made the new fire and held this cere-
● 778 mony, they renewed their covenant with the devil to serve him, and they renovated all the statues of the devil which they had in his house, and all the ornaments for his service, and those of their houses. And they rejoiced greatly to know that now they held the world to be secure and that it would not come to an end for fifty-two years. It is clear that this device of counting years was an invention of the devil to make them renew the covenant which they made with him every fifty-two years—[the devil] terrifying them with [the threat of] the end of the world and making them think that he lengthened the time and favored them thereby, letting the world move on.

796 Besides this they held, every eight years, a fast on
785 bread and water, for eight days; and at its conclusion they celebrated a feast in which they held a solemn dance by various personages, in which they said that they revealed what would come to pass or what fortune they merited; and they called it Atamalqualiztli.

796 They observed another feast every four years, in
304 honor of the fire [god], during which they pierced
805 the ears of all the boys and girls; and they called it Pillauanaliztli. And during this feast it is likely, and there are conjectures, that they held their leapyear, reckoning six [days] of Nemontemi.

805 The remaining time-count is of the year, which
796 they divided into eighteen months, to each of which they assigned twenty days. And each of these
443 months was dedicated to one god, or to two, and during it they held their feast. Each of these months they divided into five-day periods, and held the fairs on the last day of these five in one town, and five days later in another, and another five days later in

y los que estauan allí a la mira, leuantauan luego vn alarido que le ponjan en el cielo de alegría que el mundo no se acabaua y que tenjan otros cincuenta y dos años por ciertos.

La vltima solemnjdad, que hizieron deste fuego nueuo: fue el año de mill y quinjentos, y siete: hizieronle, con toda solemnjdad, porque no avian venjdo los españoles, a esta tierra: el año de mjll y quinjẽtos y cincuenta y nueue, se acabo la otra gabilla de años: que ellos llamaan Toximmolpilia. En esta, no hizieron solemnjdad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra. De manera que este año de mjll y quinjentos y setenta y seis, anda en quinze años, de la gabilla de años que corre.

Quando sacauan fuego nueuo, y hazian esta solemnjdad, renouauan el pacto que tenjan con el demonjo de seruirle: y renouauan todas las estatuas del demonjo, que en su casa tenjan, y todas las alhajas de su seruicio, y las de sus casas: y hazian grandes alegrias, por saber, que ya tenjan el mundo seguro, que no se acabaria por cincuenta y dos años. Claramente consta, que este artificio de contar, fue invencion del diablo, para hazerlos renouar el pacto que con el tenjan de cincuenta, en cincuenta y dos años: y amedrẽtandolos con la fin del mundo, y haziendolos entender, que el alargaua el tiempo y les hazian merced del passando el mundo adelãte.

Demas desta cuenta tenjan que de ocho en ocho años, hazian vn ayuno de pan y agua, por espacio de ocho dias, y hazian al cabo, vna fiesta donde hazian solemne areito de diuersos personajes; donde dezian, que descubrian ventura o que la merecian, y llamauanla Atamalcualiztli.

Otra fiesta hazian, de quatro en quatro años, a honrra del fuego, donde agujerauan las orejas a todos los njños, y njñas, y la llamauan pillauanaliztli. Y en esta fiesta es verisimjle, y ay conjecturas que hazíl su bisexto, contando seis de nemonteme.

La otra cuenta del tiempo, es de vn año: el qual repartian en deziocho meses, y a cada mes le dauan veinte dias: y cada vno destos meses, era dedicado a vno, o a dos dioses: y hazian en el sus fiestas, cada vno destos meses, le repartian de cinco in cinco dias, y hazian las ferias el vltimo dia, destos cinco, en vn pueblo: y dende a cinco dias en otro, y dende a otros cinco dias en otro. De manera que el quarto quin-